“Hard and Heavy, Loud and Proud.”

The Discursive Construction and Conveyance of Identities in Metal Songs about Metal

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Master’s Thesis

Master's Program in English Studies

Faculty of Arts

University of Helsinki

May 2020

Tiedekunta/Osasto – Fakultet/Sektion – Faculty	Laitos – Institution – Department
Humanistinen tiedekunta	Nykykielten laitos

Tekijä – Författare – Author

Olli Kauppila

Työn nimi – Arbetets titel – Title

“Hard and Heavy, Loud and Proud.” The Discursive Construction and Conveyance of Identities in Metal Songs about Metal

Oppiaine – Läroämne – Subject

Englannin kieli ja kirjallisuus

Työn laji – Arbetets art – Level	Aika – Datum – Month and year	Sivumäärä– Sidoantal – Number of pages
Pro gradu -tutkielma	Toukokuu 2020	64 + 2

Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Metallimusiikin ympärille on kerääntynyt maailmanlaajuinen yhteisö, jonka sisällä vallitsee vahva identiteetin tunne. Tutkielmani pyrkii selvittämään, millainen tämä identiteetti on sekä miten se rakennetaan ja välitetään kuulijalle metallikappaleiden sanoituksien välityksellä. Tutkimus käsittelee ”metallista kertovia metallikappaleita” (Metal Songs about Metal), joiden sanoitusten aiheena on metallimusiikki tai -kulttuuri itse ja joissa metalliyhteisön arvot ja identiteetti ovat selkeämmin esillä kuin muissa kappaleissa.

Tutkielman analyysi jakautuu genreanalyyttiseen ja diskurssianalyyttiseen osaan. Genreanalyysin tarkoituksena on määrittää metallista kertovat metallikappaleet omaksi diskurssigenrekseen Swalesin (1990) määrittelyn mukaan. Osana tätä prosessia myös metalliyhteisön todetaan täyttävän diskurssiyhteisön kriteerit, koska Swalesin teorian mukaan diskurssigenren taustalla on aina jokin sitä keskinäisessä viestinnässään käyttävä yhteisö. Tutkimuksen diskurssianalyyttinen puolisko analysoi kappaleiden sanoituksia ideologisen diskurssianalyysin ja asenneanalyysin keinoin. Se pohjautuu pääasiassa van Dijkin (1995) kuvaukseen piilevistä ideologioista (underlying ideologies) ja Englebretsonin (2007) esittämiin ajatuksiin asenteellisen kielenkäytön (stancetaking) esiintymismuodoista.

Aineistonani toimivat viidenkymmenen metallikappaleen sanoitukset, joita analysoidaan kvalitatiivisen lähilukumetodin kautta tarkastelemalla tiettyjä kielellisiä elementtejä. Genremääritys tapahtuu vertaamalla aineiston ja metalliyhteisön yleisiä piirteitä Swalesin genremalliin. Aineistoa tarkastellaan pääasiassa sanoitusten toimijoiden, sisä- ja ulkoryhmien asemoinnin sekä kappaleissa esitettyjen asenteiden ja ideologioiden näkökulmista.

Tutkimus osoittaa, että metallista kertovat metallikappaleet voidaan luokitella omaksi diskurssigenrekseen, jonka pääasiallinen viestinnällinen tarkoitus on rakentaa metalli-identiteettiä ja välittää sitä kappaleen kuulijalle. Sanoituksissa tämä ilmenee on metallimusiikin ja -yhteisön ylistävänä kuvailuna sekä ulkoryhmien eli ”toisten” (Others) asemointina metallin vastustajiksi ja vihollisiksi. Sanoituksissa esiintyy tyypillisesti asetelma, jossa kappaleen puhuja on esittävän yhtyeen laulaja, joka puhuttelee yleisöään kannustavasti tai kuvitteellista ”toista” vihamielisesti. Nämä kielelliset keinot paitsi luovat kuvaa metalliyhteisöstä ja sen identiteetistä, myös ottavat kuulijan osaksi yhteisöä. Metalliyhteisöä määrittäviksi piirteiksi esitetään ylpeys ja periksiantamattomuus, yhteisöllisyys, metallimusiikin ja sen historian arvostaminen, hedonistinen elämäntapa sekä autenttisuus. Tätä identiteettiä välitetään kuulijalle inklusiivisella kielenkäytöllä, samastuttavalla kerronnalla ja suoralla puhuttelulla.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords

identiteetti, metallimusiikki, alakulttuurit, sanoitukset, genreanalyysi, diskurssianalyysi, ideologiat

Säilytyspaikka – Förvaringställe – Where deposited

Helsingin yliopiston digitaalinen arkisto HELDA (E-thesis)

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1. Introduction

Politics of identity has warranted a great deal of attention in both the academic and public spheres in recent years. Even though society and youth culture seem to have moved away from a clear division into pronounced subcultures towards a more individualistic view on identity in recent decades, communities of interest and subcultures formed around shared interests are still an integral part of forming an identity and a sense of belonging for many people. In fact, globalization and the ever-growing influence of the internet suggest a potential increase in the prominence of transnational identities and communities not tied to any single class, location, or nationality. Some of the most persistent subcultures still enduring today are ones formed around genres of music, in which song lyrics are a central part of self-representation and positioning oneself in society both for the performers and the listeners (Guerra and Silva, 2015, p.208). One global subculture still vibrant today that combines listenership with a strong sense of identity is the one converged around the musical genre of Metal[1].

The present paper studies the realization of identities in the Metal subculture through an analysis of song lyrics. Recognizing that as my paper deals with a niche topic, I will, in the interest of inclusivity, first briefly introduce Metal as a music genre and those of its subgenres that relate to my study. *Metal*, in this paper, is considered an umbrella term for a variety of subgenres tied together by a loosely defined yet recognizable core sound featuring the heavily distorted electric guitar as its central element. Despite some contention around the topic, most fans and scholars (such as Weinstein, 1991, pp.14–15; Kahn-Harris, 2007, p.2) agree that the birth of the genre took place sometime in the late 1960s[2]. The term *Heavy Metal* refers in this study to the style of the original Metal bands of the 1970s and 1980s, and the modern bands directly influenced by this classic or "traditional" incarnation of Metal. *Thrash Metal* represents a subgenre that values Metal's core elements of heavy distortion and fast playing above anything else and seeks to take these elements to their utmost limits (Weinstein, 1991, pp.48–52). *Power Metal*, in turn, is a hybrid genre (Kahn-Harris 2007, p.22), usually combining the song structures and melody of Heavy Metal with the speed championed by Thrash. Finally, the subgenres of *Black* and *Death Metal*, situated on the most inaccessible and controversial fringes of the Metal umbrella, under the category of *Extreme Metal* (Kahn-Harris, 2007), typically feature oppressive musical atmospheres accentuated by growled or screamed vocals. While my personal motivation behind this work lies in an enjoyment of Metal as well

[1] I capitalize Metal and its subgenres in this paper to better distinguish them from the running text.
[2] Judging by the music industry and media's coverage of the Metal genre's 50th anniversary in 2020, it seems that the consensus today is that Black Sabbath's self-titled debut album from 1970 is the first fully formed and pure Metal album.

as an interest in its inner workings and the community around it, the approach taken on the topic in this study should not require any prior knowledge of the genre, and as such discussions on the minutiae of the subgenres and other matters requiring insider knowledge are left to a minimum.

The traditions of self-reference and the celebration of the genre and the subculture surrounding it are well-documented as lyrical tropes in Metal songs (e.g. Straw, 1984, pp.112–113; Weinstein, 1991, pp.37–38; Kahn-Harris, 2007, p.122). Previous scholars of the genre have, however, typically settled on descriptively pointing out this phenomenon as a feature of Metal lyrics but have not investigated how exactly these sentiments are conveyed in the lyrics and what their effects, intended or otherwise, might be on the listeners' sense of identity as members of the Metal subculture. In this paper I intend to fill these gaps in previous research by taking a linguistic approach on Metal lyrics, specifically the songs that lyrically address the genre itself. I argue that these "Metal Songs about Metal" (henceforth MSaMs) are tools of identity building, acting as affirmations of the listeners' sense of belonging and empowering them as participants in the Metal community. To test this hypothesis, I have formulated the following research questions for this study:

1. How can Metal songs about Metal be defined as a genre of discourse?
2. What are the linguistic elements that Metal songs about Metal utilize to present the Metal genre and culture?
3. How do Metal songs about Metal instill a distinctively Metal identity in their listeners?

To answer my first research question, I will examine a dataset comprised of Metal Songs about Metal through the lens of genre analysis and apply features identified in it into a pre-existing model of a discourse genre. It should be noted that as this paper is a linguistic study with no musicological approach, my analysis of MSaMs as a genre is not based on the classical genre taxonomies for music proposed by Fabbri (1982), among others; instead, the foundations of the genre analytical part of my study lie on the linguistic concepts of genre analysis, largely framed by Swales (1990) whose theories on genre are essential reading in the field. In order to avoid confusion between the concepts of music genre and discourse genre, I have tried to use the terms as clearly as possible to make them distinguishable from another – for example, I only refer to the musical genres under the Metal umbrella as *subgenres*, and primarily use the term *discourse genre* when referring to the linguistic concept.

For the second and third research questions, I will employ a qualitative discourse analytical method of close readings on the lyrics in my dataset in order to find allusions and direct references to the nature of Metal culture as well as the musical genre itself. To avoid purely describing lyrical themes, special

attention will be paid to linguistic elements that the lyrics employ to create a sense of unity amongst their audience as well as between themselves and their audiences, particularly elements of ideology, stance, and the positioning of the ingroup of the Metal community in opposition to their perceived “Others”. This part of the study is mainly based on the works of van Dijk (1995) and Englebretson (2007) and their theories on identifying underlying ideologies and stancetaking in texts.

The authors who have influenced my study, along with their relevant contributions to their respective fields are surveyed in Section 2, divided into subsections that correspond to the three academic fields my study most closely relates to. Section 3 details the features and the gathering process of the dataset of the study as well as the methods used in the analysis. The results of the analysis are reported in Section 4, presented in two parts that represent the genre analytical and discourse analytical sides of the study. Further discussion on the findings is provided in Section 5, and finally, Section 6 offers concluding remarks for the paper as well as thoughts on how to continue my work in a possible future study.

2. Background

This section will introduce the theoretical framework my study is situated in. The first subsection will explore the relatively young research field of Metal music studies in academic research, aiming to locate a research gap in Metal studies. The second and third subsections will introduce the two main theoretical frameworks used in my study, genre analysis and discourse analysis, to lay the groundwork for the more detailed analyses to follow later. Section 2.2. on genre analysis additionally includes a discussion on discourse communities and the applicability of the concept to the Metal subculture.

2.1. Academic Explorations of Metal Music

Before delving into the linguistic theories behind my methodologies, I will situate my study within the relatively young academic field of Metal studies. Despite the genre having formed in the late 1960s, references to Metal music in academic publications prior to the 1990s are sparse. In a 1982 conference on popular music research (Horn and Tagg, 1982), no mention of Metal music was made even though by that year the genre was well established and held a solid footing in the Western popular music sphere. Straw (1984) is among the earliest academic studies with a focus on Heavy Metal as both a musical genre and a sociocultural phenomenon. Straw attempts to place Metal in the larger framework of a universal rock music culture but is generally more interested in the ways in which Heavy Metal epitomizes North American rock culture overall than in Metal itself (p.105). He does does, however, hint at future sociological approaches to studies of the genre, and even touches on the topic of the present study:

> While the terms ‘rock’ and ‘rock and roll’ recur within lyrics and album titles, this is almost always in reference to the actualities of the performance and the energies to be unleased therein, rather than to historical mythologies of rock music. (Straw, 1984, p.113)

Straw’s observation here mainly refers to Metal bands relinquishing the rock and roll tradition of paying tribute to their musical roots rather than Metal’s penchant for self-referentiality, but the fact that the concept is discussed in one of the first academic papers on Metal is a testament to the MSaM trope’s deep roots in the Metal genre, and indeed, in rock and roll before it.

Publishing their works nearly a decade after Straw, Weinstein (1991) and Walser (1993) are hailed by many scholars (such as Kahn-Harris, 2007; Brown, 2011; Brown and Fellesz, 2012) as the first academic works on Metal that take the genre seriously and establish it as a credible topic of research in academia.

Both writers introduce their respective works by making note of the general distaste for Metal music apparent in academia, music criticism, and, indeed, the American society at large (Weinstein, pp.1–3, p.174; Walser, p.13, pp.39–43). Weinstein examines the world of Metal from several points of view, including the principal elements of the music, the listenership and subculture around the music, and the role of the concert experience, for example. In her discussion of the defining features of Metal music, Weinstein creates a division of Metal lyrics into two thematic categories: the Dionysian, mainly involving lyrical themes that praise hedonistic behavior such as partying and sex, and the overall joys of heavy music (pp.35–38), and the Chaotic, represented by themes of conflict and violence, but also by biblical and socially conscious lyrics (pp.38–43). Of these two categories, Metal Songs about Metal are primarily placed in the Dionysian category as, despite their occasional forays into violent or aggressive themes, their core message is the celebration of the genre and the people around it (pp.37–38). Weinstein also specifically identifies the Metal Song about Metal as a lyrical trope:

> Far more important than drugs and even sex to the Dionysian side of heavy metal's lyrical output is praise of rock music. Writing and playing songs extolling the ecstasy that the music provides is almost a genre requirement. (Weinstein, 1991, p.37)

Like Straw's analysis, Weinstein observes that while the term used to refer to the music played by Metal bands is often *rock and roll*, the word is not used to refer to the legacy of rock per se, but to Metal, acting as the pinnacle of rock music's evolution. Weinstein also points out that the concept of self-celebration is not exclusive to Metal, but rather "a resurfacing of a widespread tradition in rock and roll." (p.37)

Despite her depictions of the most common lyrical themes in Metal, Weinstein's approach overall is primarily sociological. Walser (1993) points out Weinstein's lacking focus in the music itself (p.42) and attempts to fill this gap by focusing his analysis on the musical aspects of Metal. In addition to recounting the formative stages of the Metal genre and sociologically examining the Metal subculture, Walser also discusses the articulation of masculinity in Metal songs, but overall does not offer much discussion of Metal lyrics. Together, Weinstein and Walser offer a comprehensive view on the basics of Metal music itself as well as the culture around it and its social implications[3].

[3] Both authors comment extensively on the societal reception of Metal music and its listeners and discuss the controversial PMRC (Parents Music Resource Center) hearings of the late 1980s, where several Metal artists were accused of implementing subliminal messages in their songs and imparting immoral values to the American youth through their lyrics.

The main shortcoming in both Walser and Weinstein's books today is their age: writing in the early 1990s, the writers are only able to focus on the bands of the 1980s (Walser, especially, makes note of this, p.16), and the viewpoint of both writers on the still young subculture is purely American. As a result, neither book accurately reflects the Metal scene as it exists in 2020: Metal has grown and evolved significantly after the early 1990s as the genre has spread across the world, and countless bands, trends and subgenres have come and gone between Walser and Weinstein's writings and the present study.

Despite some aspects of Weinstein and Walser's findings seeming somewhat dated today, others, such as the importance of concerts in the realization of the community's ideals, remain unaffected, however. Their studies of Metal as a sociocultural rather than a merely musical phenomenon cemented the angle as the principal point of focus for most of the later works in Metal research, laying the groundwork for more recent publications, such as Kahn-Harris (2007) and McKinnon et al. (2011), that provide deeper and more focused analyses of specific aspects of the Metal subculture.

Kahn-Harris makes a familiar observation about the tendency of Metal songs to lyrically refer to the genre itself, especially in the case of the Power Metal subgenre. He also notes the cultural significance of the self-celebratory lyrical tropes apparent in MSaMs:

> [Power Metal lyrics] express a widespread attitude in the extreme metal scene. The lyrics, together with their triumphalist musical backing, celebrate the 'we' of the scene, all bound together by the 'magic' of metal, all proud of their belonging. (p.122)

Kahn-Harris makes this observation to call attention to the fact that even though extreme Metal bands do not typically articulate the values of Power Metal, they share a similar identity. It could be argued, then, that the notions expressed in MSaMs, while not directly present in all types of Metal music, are at least partly universal to the entire Metal community. This in turn implies that MSaMs are representative of the Metal genre as a whole, which heightens the relevance and impact of my study.

The authors in McKinnon et al. (2011) discuss different aspects of mental health issues in Metal, mostly focusing on subverting the widespread conception of Metal as fostering suicidal thoughts or promoting violence and antisocial behavior. Rowe (2011) refers to Metal identities as having a positive impact in the mental health and social development of young people in Australia: "A sense of belonging, community participation, catharsis, empowerment, resilience and agency are all themes that have emerged strongly in contemporary metal studies" (p.82). Belonging in the Metal subculture, according

to Rowe, additionally fosters a sense of individuality and independence in Metal fans in spite of the overbearing societal structures working against such displays of uniqueness. This idea of unity in the face of pressures or direct opposition from the surrounding society is heavily featured in Metal songs and is a marked feature of MSaMs, especially.

After effectively launching the field of Metal studies in 1991, Weinstein re-examines the field and the direction it has taken in 2011, grouping Metal studies with other "academic struggle groups", or fields studying marginalized social groups such as women's, gender, and Africana studies. She calls for openness and diversity in the scopes and methodologies utilized by the Metal scholars following in her footsteps (2011, pp.244–245). Additional introspection on the study of Metal in academia is offered by Brown and Fellezs (2012), who also discuss the more recent developments in both the genre and the field of research studying it, most notably alluding to the increasing interest in Metal within the academic sphere:

> Within academe, it would not be an exaggeration to argue that since 2000, there has been a discernible acceleration in research and publication concerned with metal music and culture. We have not only seen an increase in the number of research papers, chapters and monographs published but also a range of disciplinary areas and concerns addressed from within ethnomusicology, popular music and media studies, comparative literary, religious and cultural studies, art, and philosophy - to name but a few. (pp.ix–x, emphasis mine)

One of the less-explored scientific approaches in Metal studies thus far, notably absent from Brown and Fellesz's list of fields of study above, has been that of linguistics. Jousmäki (2011; 2015) is one of the few scholars to combine the wider framework of Metal studies with the discipline of linguistics, discussing the lyrical content of Metal songs as representations of the artists' identities. While Jousmäki's work mainly focuses on the online presence of Christian Metal bands, her studies also partly deal with issues of identity in examining how the bands present themselves while balancing between two conflicting identities – those of Christians and Metal musicians. Outside Jousmäki, few studies have specifically tackled identity-building in Metal songs, let alone through linguistic analysis of the lyrics. While many of the earlier works on Metal music and culture refer to a sense of community, camaraderie or shared identity among Metal fans, the idea is often taken as given and is generally not explored further. This concept of a *Metal community* is elaborated on in the following subsection, which will provide the basis for defining Metal Songs about Metal as a discourse genre.

2.2. Genre Analysis

The reason why none of the authors who have previously written about Metal have explicitly recognized the MSaM as a genre of its own likely has to do with the genre division in Metal (as in music in general) being traditionally been based on sound, song structure and other instrumental features. “The [generic] Fragmentation of Heavy Metal” is discussed as early as in Weinstein (1991), who makes note of typical lyrical features in the various genres (pp.43–57) but does not attribute the genre differences to lyrical content. One of the main goals of this study is to find out if the Metal Songs about Metal can be defined as a genre, and if so, what the genre’s defining elements are. This subsection will discuss this issue while placing my study within the larger framework of the field of linguistic inquiry called genre analysis.

Before establishing the parameters of this still-hypothetical genre, I will start with a general exploration of the field of genre analysis and comparing it to the generic features of MSaMs. Despite being mostly intended for use in the contexts of English-language teaching and research on academic discourse, Swales (1990) offers a solid foundation for the analysis of genres in discourse.

2.2.1. Discourse Communities

One of the central ideas Swales (1990) presents is that genres do not exist in a vacuum but are rather tools used by *discourse communities* – groups of people who engage in some form of intercommunication in order to further shared aims or goals (pp.21–27). Although the term *discourse community* has been used synonymously with the idea of speech communities used by sociolinguistics and linguistic ethnography, Swales points out that the two are separate concepts as discourse communities do not require geographical proximity among members to function (pp.23–24, p.29).

Following Swales’s reasoning, then, for Metal Songs about Metal to be able to form a discourse genre, there needs to be discourse community that utilizes the genre. For this role, I propose the Metal community already alluded to in previous sections. The Metal community can be thought of as a realization of the sense of identity apparent in Metal lyrics, a globally spread group of people consisting of artists and listeners alike, with a shared identity and varying levels of community membership and lines of communication with one another. References to the Metal community can be found in virtually all literature about Metal music and culture, though not always directly or by the term I propose here. Kahn-Harris (2007), for example, utilizes the concept of “scenes” to effectively refer to the same phenomenon – groups of people brought together by their shared interest in a type of music (see, for example, pp.13–15). Gafarov (2011) proposes a list of qualitative methodologies that can be applied to

studies on the community, referring to some of the methods I have employed in this study, but ultimately values studying interviews of Metal musicians over direct lyrical analyses. More recently, Varas-Díaz and Scott (2016) dedicate an entire book to studying the communal aspects of the Metal subculture. Finally, in her description of the communal aspects of Christian Metal, Jousmäki (2015) contemplates the most appropriate nomenclature for a group of people connected by a shared interest in the same type of music (pp.38–41). She proposes the terms *scene*, *community of practice*, and *subculture* as acceptable descriptors for the Christian Metal community, finally determining *subculture* as the most suitable one. While her discussion mostly applies to the present study as well, my analysis is focused on a more specific subset of Metal songs that do not have an independent "scene" around them, which is why this paper only discusses the Metal community as a singular entity. Furthermore, while the Metal community is a *subculture* by Jousmäki's standards, the term *discourse community* is an equally applicable description, and, due to its connection to the concept of genre, more useful for the purposes of this study.

To define the concept more accurately, Swales (1990) presents six defining characteristics of a discourse community that can be used as criteria for determining whether a group can be thought of as one (pp.22–23). In order for the Metal community to be considered a discourse community, then, it will have to possess all six of them. These characteristics (pp.24–27) are as follows:

1. A discourse community has a broadly agreed set of common public goals
2. It has mechanisms of intercommunication among its members
3. It uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback
4. It utilizes and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims
5. It has acquired some specific lexis in addition to the genres it owns
6. It has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discoursal expertise

In many discourse communities, the "common public goals" Swales refers to in the first criterion largely involves shared interests. In the Metal community the common goal, in a somewhat simplified sense, would naturally be the cultivation of a collective interest in heavy music. In the 21st century and the age of the internet it would be safe to say that the mechanisms of intercommunication, as referenced in the second criterion, are manifold for any discourse community. The Metal community, too, conducts many of its activities online today, with music fans gathering under blogs, review and news sites, services that allow bands to publish and sell their music directly to fans, and, of course, social media platforms that enable bands to directly interact with their audiences (for further discussion on the online presence of

Metal bands, see Jousmäki, 2015). Before the internet had reached global ubiquity, the Metal community, largely functioning outside the mainstream media of radio and television[4] communicated amongst itself through professional magazines and fanzines, as well as cassette trading networks, for example (Weinstein, 1991, pp.174–179). Brown and Fellesz (2012) summarize the transformation of the lines of communication within the Metal community:

> …the innovative underground practice of international tape-trading has been superseded by a burgeoning internet-based fandom that has established […] web-based encyclopedias, wikis and blogs that trade in an unofficial but significantly arcane depth of metal scholarship that lies just beyond the borders of academic recognition. (p.xiv)

Despite producing "an enormous amount of non-musical discourse through a variety of media" (Kahn-Harris, 2007, p.34), the primary forums of member interaction in the Metal community have always been music recordings and concerts, two forms of media that are characterized by Weinstein (1991) as "inseparable […] in the constitution of metal from its beginnings" and "fully reciprocal" (p.183). The recordings, in whichever form they are consumed, act as constant avenues of communication from bands to audiences that allow the latter to partake in the discourse community in an everyday environment. Concerts, on the other hand, are singular events where fans physically gather together and in which bands get to directly convey their music and ideas to their audiences while also receiving immediate feedback from them. The concert is described by Weinstein as an epiphany – a full realization of the cultural form and a place where people of all levels of discourse community membership are present simultaneously in a collective representation of its shared values (pp.180–183, p.199, pp.217–218). Together, the various forums of intercommunication facilitate the exchange of information and feedback between members of different levels, fulfilling the second and third criterion of Swales's definition for discourse communities.

While communication within the Metal community works with many discursive genres, many if not most of these genres utilized by the community are not exclusive to it. Much of the interaction conforms to the typical conventions of online discussions or music critique, and the concert event is similar in form to those of other music genres. Even much of the discourse in the music itself could be classified as narratives and lyricism similar to several other music genres, with the exception of the thematic

[4] Weinstein also makes note of the importance of the radio and the MTV in disseminating the music to mass audiences (pp.149–171). However, as these media are driven by commercial motivations rather than the internal communicative needs of the Metal community, I do not count them here as forums of internal communication for the Metal discourse community.

uniqueness of Metal songs discussed in Section 2.1.. I argue that MSaMs, in their simultaneous self-referentiality and engagement with the audience, are one of the more unique genres possessed by the Metal community. Discoursal expectations in the community are not strict as there are not many types of communication that would be inappropriate in topic or form, although bands are usually expected to function within the confines of their respective musical and discursive genres and may come to face criticism for changing their style from what has become expected of them: drastic changes in the style of music a band plays are often met with criticism from those of their fans who prefer their earlier material.

Where the Metal community lacks in unique genres and rigid codification of discourse elements, it makes up in expert terminology. The Metal community could be called notorious for its use of genre tags and technical terms, and knowledge of the intricacies of the subgenres is used to accrue and display "mundane subcultural capital", as noted in Kahn-Harris (2007, pp.122–127). Abbreviations for musical genres such as *OSDM*, *DSBM*, *USPM* or *NWoTHM*[5] would not make sense to the uninitiated, but for active members of the community, the mention of any of these genre tags will likely conjure a clear mental image of the look and sound of a band representing the genre. In addition to the specific lexis of musical genre tags, the Metal community has other exclusive terminology that outsiders would likely not be familiar with, such as the highly subjective notions of "heaviness", and what the community considers to be Metal to begin with (contention can be found around this issue, especially with bands in the more peripheral Metal subgenres). Additionally, while the Metal community's shared notions of acceptable skill level in performing the music are similar to those in other musical genres, Metal utilizes musical and lyrical elements that do not follow the conventions of what is acceptable in other music – for example, while harsh vocals or antagonistic lyrical content would be out of the ordinary in many musical genres, they are expected or even required elements in many Metal subgenres. Expectations such as these are innate to the Metal community, which further separates it from other discourse communities and subcultures.

The sixth criterion Swales sets for discourse communities essentially deals with membership seniority. In the case of the Metal community, this translates to new initiates finding the community upon hearing Metal music and later becoming full members by engaging in communication with other members. New fans will likely proceed to consult more established members for listening recommendations and attend concerts where they interact with other community members and bands, eventually becoming novice

[5] These abbreviations respectively stand for Old School Death Metal, Depressive Suicidal Black Metal, American (U.S.) Power Metal and the New Wave of Traditional Heavy Metal, the last being itself a play on *NWoBHM*, a term coined by the music press in the late 1970s to describe an (re-)emergence of Metal bands in Britain (Weinstein, 1991, p.44).

members of the community. Following this logic, seasoned concertgoers, lifelong Metal fans and other active community members such as journalists and bloggers could be considered senior members of the Metal discourse community. Music critics and concert reviewers are situated near the very top of the seniority ladder as contributors to the upholding of discursive and artistic standards in the community: Weinstein writes that "Metal critics are and see themselves as specialists who are embedded within the subcultural audience. As such, they actively coconstitute the audience via criteria of aesthetic criticism." (p.176) The performers themselves, finally, would be the top experts of the community as it is their work, discursive and musical, that forms the core of the entire community. Members may eventually exit the group willingly or simply by losing interest in its activities, but the ratio between novices and experts in the community, stays relatively stable as new people find Metal music and new bands are formed.

As the Metal community is essentially a hobby group or a community of interest, the involvement with the community required for membership is not as encompassing as in professional communities, for example, and members are allowed to simultaneously belong to other communities (Swales, 1990, p.31), meaning that being a Metal fan is not necessarily one's only defining identity. It is worthy of note, however, that not all people who listen to Metal and occasionally attend concerts should be counted as full members of the discourse community: some fans may never enter the discourse community if they do not fill the minimum requirement for membership by engaging in communication with other members.

With all of Swales's six defining features addressed it is possible to argue that the Metal community forms a functioning discourse community. A straightforward example of a typical chain of communicative events within the Metal community involving members of multiple levels of seniority might be an online album review in which a seasoned critic, classified here as a veteran member of the community, gives direct feedback on the work of a band, a group of expert community members. The review might then be directly commented on online by both junior community members and the band itself and will likely be discussed among fans both online and in person.

2.2.2. The Concept of Genre

To further justify the present study's focus on MSaMs – a specific subset of Metal songs – it is vital to establish them as a demonstrably unified group of texts. Section 4.1. of the study's analysis portion proposes that MSaMs form a genre of discourse on the basis of the criteria set here. Swales (1990) sees genre analysis as a way to identify recurring discursive features with socially motivated communicative functions, rather than a mere mechanism for constructing classificatory systems (pp.43–44). My study

follows Swales's vision in that it does not attempt to assemble a taxonomy of lyrical genres within Metal music in which to place MSaMs in, but instead looks at MSaMs as a group of discursive acts with shared features that serves the communicative purposes and enacts a social action of building and conveying a sense of community and identity. Swales crystallizes the definition of genre in the following passage:

> A genre comprises a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale of the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style. Communicative purpose is both a privileged criterion and one that operates to keep the scope of a genre as here conceived narrowly focused on comparable rhetorical action. In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience. If all high probability expectations are realized, the exemplar will be viewed as prototypical by the parent discourse community. The genre names inherited and produced by discourse communities and imported by others constitute valuable ethnographic communication, but typically need further validation. (Swales, 1990, p.58, emphasis mine)

To clarify the concept, I will elaborate on each of the highlighted passages of the excerpt. First, Swales asserts that the basis for the concept of genre is that genre is a class of communicative events (pp.45–46). This means that the term only encompasses verbal activities in which communication is in a central role and involves both the discourse itself as well as its participants. These communicative events may occur often or infrequently, but a rare event needs to carry cultural significance to be considered a genre class. The set of communicative purposes acknowledged next in Swales's definition is declared as the principal criterion for a group of texts to be considered a genre (pp.46–49): a genre must have an internally shared set (or sets) of communicative purposes that act as ways for the discourse community using the genre to reach its goals. Swales acknowledges that placing purposes over form as the first criterion in defining a genre may be a potentially controversial stance. He bases the choice on the reasoning that if genres are primarily communicative tools for a discourse community uses to achieve their goals, the communicative purposes of the texts must the central defining factor. Placing purpose as the primary criterion for genres instead of formal aspects also helps distinguish "real" communicative events from parody. The implications and potential effects of parody songs in the materials used in this study are discussed further in Section 3.1..

The *rationale* of a genre Swales discusses next arises from the genre's communicative purposes and provides the basis on which the genre's conventions – the constraints placed on allowable contributions in terms of content, positioning and form – are built (pp.52–54). If a genre's purposes can be conceptualized as the direct aims of each communicative event comprising the genre, then its rationale is comparable to the intended effects of the events. The desired effect of an event naturally affects how the communication is conveyed. An agreed-upon set of conventions does not entail complete uniformity across a genre, however, because as Swales next reveals, exemplars of any given genre will vary in their patterns of similarity (pp.49–52). To address the issue of determining genre membership outside shared purposes, Swales proposes a *prototype approach* (spearheaded by Rosch, see Swales, 1990, p.51). In this model, each genre category is thought to have at least a theoretical prototypical member that shares properties with all other members. Some properties are more privileged than others, and marginal members of a category may have few prototypical properties or even share high-probability ones with outside categories. A subjective *family resemblance* mainly based on human perception, then, is what ultimately brings each category together (p.50). Communicative purpose is still thought to be the privileged property of a genre, but form, structure, audience expectations and other features also define the prototypical qualities of each genre (p.52).

The final observation in Swales's definition has to do with the nomenclature and terminology used of, and in conjunction with, a genre, tying his definition back to the ideas about discourse communities discussed in the previous section (pp.54–57). Conversely to how familiarity with a discourse community aids in understanding the genres it uses, the genres themselves provide insights on the discourse communities and their conduct. This notion implies that future researchers of genre should not ignore the usefulness and importance of the relationship between the genre and the discourse community. Swales's contributions to the field of genre analysis have since been commonly used in much of the later research on genre: Paltridge (1995), for example, acknowledges the relevance Swales's discourse community concept and infuses the idea of genre prototypes into his own genre analysis framework (pp.396–401).

2.3. Identity and Ideology in Discourse

Besides the validity of MSaMs as a discourse genre, the other main topic of study in this paper is the manifestation of identity and ideology in their lyrics. While it seems clear that there is a strong sense of identity within the Metal community, the scholars discussing Metal have not addressed how these identities are fostered in the music – specifically, how identities are linguistically built and conveyed in

the song lyrics. I will first establish what is meant by identity in this study and how identities have been studied in the field of linguistics.

Identity, being "multiple and multilayered" (Omoniyi, 2006, pp.16–17), is a difficult concept to define. Omoniyi and White (2006) make the following arguments on the general nature of social identities (p.2):

1. identity is not fixed;
2. identity is constructed within established contexts and may vary from one context to another;
3. these contexts are moderated and defined by intervening social variables and expressed through language(s);
4. identity is a salient factor in every communicative context whether given prominence or not;
5. identity informs social relationships and therefore also informs the communicative exchanges that characterize them;
6. more than one identity may be articulated in a given context in which case there will be a dynamic of identities management.

Omoniyi and White's observations on the connection between identities and language (and communication in general) can be thought of as the foundations for the theoretical basis of my analysis of identity-building in song lyrics, upon which the entirety of this part of my paper is built. The idea of multiple and fluctuating identities relates back to the idea of the Metal community and varying degrees of membership recognized by Swales in his theories on discourse communities. In addition to the plural identities Metal fans and artists may possess in their personal lives, the bands themselves also usually possess and articulate several identities. The competing identities bands balance between can be about, for example, national identity against international appeal, one's musical influences against originality, or belonging to a niche subgenre scene against representing the wider Metal genre overall.

As music has arguably always included an element of the building or transference of identity, it is difficult to pinpoint the earliest academic studies on identity manifesting in music. Moore (1982) is an early example of such a study: pondering the pressures on the identities of traditional musicians in Africa operating in an increasingly globalizing world. Frith (1996) offers a diverse look at identities appearing in and being molded by music, culminating in the idea of music being the ultimate identity-builder: it is, in essence, a ritual with no spatial limitations (pp.124–125). In studies involving more specific musical genres and linguistic analyses of song lyrics, Paganoni (2006) discusses the hybrid identities apparent in the lyrics of British bhangra music, while Westinen (2010) analyzes hip hop identities in Finnish rap lyrics, and Guerra and Silva (2015) study issues of difference and identity in Portuguese punk songs. Machin (2010), finally, studies popular music from a multimodal standpoint, taking into account extra-

musical factors such as visual imagery and cultural elements in addition to sounds and lyrics. My analysis will not go into the multimodal aspects of Metal music – such as the interplay between sound and imagery – but will solely keep its focus on the lyrical content. Machin's observations on the participants, activities and agency in lyrics have, however, influenced my analysis.

My paper is methodologically founded on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a relatively loose framework of theories tied together by a focus in connecting the realities of the prevailing social order with the discursive features found in written and spoken language (Locke, 2004). Because language itself and the meanings carried in it come in many different and dynamic forms, CDA does not come with a ready set of tools with which to identify and scrutinize specific features of language. It instead offers a more open-ended framework into which a multitude of theories and methodologies can be integrated depending on the needs of the study – indeed, Locke argues that CDA should be thought of less as a method and more of a "scholarly orientation with the potential to transform the modus operandi of a range of research methodologies" (p.2). Practitioners of CDA methodologies such as van Dijk, one of the central figures of the field, have especially focused on exposing societal power structures and hidden ideologies embedded in discourse. The tendency of MSaMs to antagonize the "enemies" of Metal and parties socially in positions above the Metal community to create a sense of unity between the performer and their audience – in other words, creating an identity from a shared ideology – makes CDA a fitting approach for studying them.

Van Dijk has built supporting theories around the general theme of CDA, the most useful of which for the purposes of the present study is Ideological Discourse Analysis, an application of CDA for the study of ideology in language (van Dijk, 1995). Ideological Discourse Analysis (IDA) is built around the assumption that the "ideologies of speakers or writers may be 'uncovered' by close reading, understanding or systematic analysis, if language users explicitly or unwittingly 'express' their ideologies through language and communication." (p.135) IDA, like CDA in general, aims to relate structures found in discourse to those of the society that produces them, recognizing that discourse production is affected by a range of social and cognitive factors, which means that ideologies are rarely plainly evident in text and talk (p.142). The key concept in IDA is that of *underlying ideologies*: attitudes and meanings embedded and hidden within spoken and written texts – purposefully or subconsciously – that affect discourse semantics "at the microlevel of lexicalization, sentence meaning and local sentence coherence as well as on the macrolevel of topics and overall meaning" (p.146), stressing the necessity of examining

language on all levels of grammatical and semantic meaning. Van Dijk demonstrates how stances and attitudes regarding the in- and outgroups of the writer can be found embedded in texts, inseparably linking ideologies with identities: where there is a shared identity of *us*, there is a *them*, or the Other, derogated through rhetoric and language, and against which positive representations of the ingroup are built.

The social actor *us*, instrumental in connecting the speaker to an identity, community or ideology, is typically realized through the use of the first-person plural pronoun *we* and its various forms. Helmbrecht (2002), in his exploration of the functions and grammatical features of the first-person plural pronouns in different languages, distinguishes the inclusive and exclusive uses of *we*, noting that the former use involves the addressee in the group referred to by the speaker, while the latter excludes them from the group (pp.36–37). The present study recognizes both uses, with inclusive addresses to the listeners of the songs being the more common occurrence of the pronoun in its data. Exclusive uses of *we*, on the other hand, are addressed to Others while again including the listener in the ingroup. Furthermore, Helmbrecht uses the term *non-prototypical uses of WE pronouns* to refer to instances of a *we* group that the speaker belongs to only socially or emotionally (p.44); these are groups that are either too large or ambiguous for the speaker to literally belong in but ones that they feel a strong connection to. The non-prototypical uses of *we* applies to this study in that although the Metal community is often the referent in the use of *we* in the lyric texts, the song's speaker may refer to a historical or fictionalized version of the community, or the song may recount events the performer has not been a part of but wishes to connect with. Instead of acting as literal statements, then, such usages of the pronoun "establish and reinforce the social identities of the speaker" by connecting them to a group or community on a socio-cognitive level (ibid.).

Supporting my analysis of identities and ideologies in MSaM lyrics and bridging the gap between my own linguistic approach and the previous, primarily sociocultural, studies on Metal culture, is the study of *stance*, a field that "offers common ground for researchers interested in the connections between linguistic instances and socio-cultural realities." (Jousmäki, 2011, p.4) Ochs, effectively summarizes the direct relevance of analyzing stance to my study:

> …linguistic structures that index epistemic and affective stances are the basic linguistic resources for constructing/realizing social acts and social identities. (1996 cited in Englebretson, 2007, p.18, emphasis mine)

Ideologies may also manifest in language as stancetaking, especially in devaluing the Other by way of epistemic (and interpersonal) stancetaking (Johnstone, 2007), and in emphasizing their Otherness through generalization (Scheibman, 2007).

Stance is, however, an elusive term with a range of varying definitions – Englebretson (2007) notes the difficulty in both defining and analyzing it. In an attempt to alleviate this problem, Du Bois (2007) offers a tool for stance analysis by proposing the idea of *the stance triangle* (pp.162–169) – a model illustrating the actors and forces at play in a stance move.

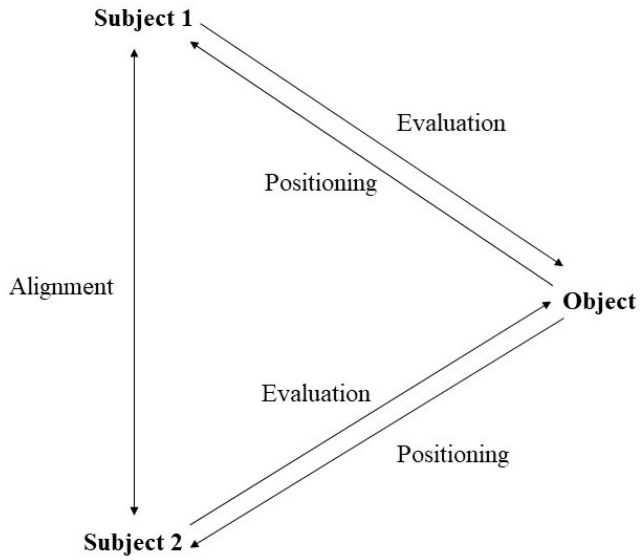

Figure 1: The stance triangle (Du Bois, 2007, p.163).

In the triangle model, visualized in Figure 1, two (or more) Subjects simultaneously evaluate a Stance Object and form alignments with one another depending on their evaluative stances. The Object, meanwhile, is positioned against them based on each Subject's individual evaluation of it. In the case of MSaMs, Subject 1, or the stancetaker, would constitute the speaker in the song, either as the singer him or herself, or as a conduit for a character in a narrative. Subject 2 can be either the listener, seen as an ingroup member, or an outsider to whom the song is antagonistically addressed, while the Object would usually be the Metal community or Metal music in general. Subject 1, then, will either align with or disalign themselves from Subject 2, depending on which group Subject 2 belongs in the song's narrative.

Both Subjects position themselves towards the Object through either positive or negative evaluation – if the Subjects have similar positions toward the Object, they will generally be in alignment with one another.

One of the main uses of Du Bois's stance triangle is that it allows the researcher to fill the blanks in any stancetaking statement: if any of the components of the triangle can be identified, the rest can be inferred by placing the known parts into the model (pp.164–165). While he provides useful insights for analyses of stance, Du Bois's focus on spoken dialogue does not perfectly suit the purposes of this study of written texts. In the original application of the triangle model, both Subjects are real social actors engaged in active dialogue, while in song lyrics only one party is speaking the other is merely a representation built by the songwriter. These portrayals do, however, reveal how Metal artists see themselves and their community in relation to other social actors. Furthermore, their representations of these relationships are what ultimately create the ideologies and identities produced by the songs, meaning that the stance triangle, while not fully applicable, will provide useful insights for the purposes of this study.

Stancetaking as an identity-building tool in song lyrics has been previously explored in a Metal-related study by Jousmäki (2011), albeit in the context of the more clearly defined genre of Christian Metal, and with a focus on evaluation. Conversely, the present study does not directly focus on linguistic evaluation, although expressions of stance often also have evaluative functions – evaluative moves are referred to as "[p]erhaps the most salient and widely recognized form of stancetaking" in Du Bois (2007, p.142). While my study recognizes the evaluative capacities of stancetaking and their role in the positioning of stance objects as per Du Bois's model, it consciously does not place too much focus on them in order to leave room for a more varied methodological approach, evaluation being by itself a complex enough subject to warrant its own study. The different methods used in this study, along with its materials, are discussed at length in the following section.

3. Material and Methods

This section will describe the materials used in my study and the methods used to analyze them. The first subsection will discuss the material and the second one will establish the methodological framework around which my study is built.

3.1. Material

The dataset used in the present study consists of the lyrics of fifty Metal songs that thematically deal with the Metal music genre and/or the people and culture around it – Metal Songs about Metal, in short. The songs were selected and sourced from the Encyclopaedia Metallum: The Metal Archives website (2020a), an online database dedicated to archiving information about contemporary and historical Metal bands, including their full release histories as well as personnel information and other data. The website was chosen for this purpose because of its unmatched catalogue of not only the bands and artists, but also of their discographies with complete song data, including the lyrics for a large portion of the songs. The *Encyclopaedia* was deemed a reliable source due to its meticulous process for accepting bands into its catalogue: while the site has occasionally come under criticism for its strict and at times arbitrary criteria for including bands in the archive, it simultaneously benefits from this rigidity as the criteria, disclosed in detail on the website (2020b), guarantee that the archive demonstrably only consists of real bands that have released music in the Metal genre. Additionally, the rigorous moderation of the website and its large user base ensure that the data entered into the database is factually correct and up to date.

The Metal Archives site features an "Advanced search" function that allows the user to search the database for bands, albums or songs separately using text search and filtering options. The data selection process was conducted using the *Archives'* "Search songs" function. The main selection criterion for the songs was that the song title needed to include the word *metal* either in the base or a conjugated form. This criterion and its primacy in the selection process stemmed from the need to effectively find a representative dataset of Metal Songs about Metal through by using a relatively simple search on the Metal Archives. The findings in previous scholarly works indicated that MSaMs often mention the genre by name when it is the topic of the songs – this assumption was corroborated by my personal knowledge of the Metal genre – thus it was fair to expect the word to appear in song titles as well. Another option would have been to search for songs featuring the word *metal* anywhere in the lyrics, but preliminary

searches revealed that this method would have yielded a significantly higher number of irrelevant results, and that songs with *metal* in their titles more consistently dealt with the topic of my study.

The second criterion influencing the initial search was that the songs selected needed to be featured on the main track listing of full-length album releases, meaning that bonus songs, live recordings, cover songs and songs found on compilation albums were discarded. This criterion was implemented to ensure consistency in the data: allowing live and demo recordings or cover songs would have caused the data to have duplicates of songs, which would have skewed the final selection stage. Bonus songs, again, are often covers, live tracks or demo versions of existing songs, and are usually only found on special versions of albums, such as country-specific versions or re-releases, meaning that they cannot be assumed to have reached the same audiences as the songs on the album proper. Focusing on the full-length album format was useful in implementing these limitations, but it should also be noted that the album recording is the primary medium for the Metal audience to consume their music: the record, even more so than the concert, is characterized by Weinstein (1991) as "metal's lifeblood" (p.183).

The data selection was then ultimately conducted by searching in the Song title field for the term "metal*"[6] , with an active filter for the search to display full-length releases only. This search returned 5,722 songs, the basic information of which was copied and pasted from the results page into a spreadsheet file – at this point, only the names of the songs, the performing artists, and the albums the songs appear on were listed for further analysis and subjected to eliminations. The first round of eliminations from the original song list was aimed at songs that revealed in their titles that they were covers, demos, live recordings, not performed in English, or otherwise inadmissible for my study. Interestingly, the song list originally featured over a hundred songs entitled *Heavy Metal*, 57 of which were performed in languages other than English – mostly Spanish and Portuguese. At this stage I additionally encountered some songs I was already familiar with: for example, I could pre-emptively exclude the song "I Am a Cybernetic Organism, Living Tissue Over (Metal) Endoskeleton" by the band Austrian Death Machine as I knew that its lyrics did not deal with Metal culture.

After the eliminations based on the song titles alone, 3,493 songs were left on the list. The order of the remaining songs on the spreadsheet was randomized, and the first 50 eligible songs on the list were

[6] The asterisk functions in the search as a wildcard marker that triggers the search for any consecutive string of characters in its place. It was used to include conjugated or compounded forms of the word *metal* in the search, and to account for possible typing errors by the archivists as well as intentionally unconventional spelling choices by the bands themselves.

tentatively chosen for the study. Randomly selecting the songs was found to be more reliable and repeatable than using any other selection method: a chronological approach – choosing a fixed number of songs from each decade represented in the song list, for example – would have been susceptible to an imbalance in the time periods represented in the data. Choosing the best-selling songs or albums from the list, on the other hand, was not feasible due to the unavailability of global sales numbers online, and only looking at the album sales of a single market area would have undone my argument of a global Metal community. Finally, I chose to ignore any personal thoughts on the most representative exemplars of the MSaM genre as hand-picking the songs for the study would have resulted in personal bias entering the selection process, damaging both the credibility and repeatability of my study.

The lyrics for the songs picked for the study were also retrieved from The Metal Archives; this was done in part to ensure consistency within the data – lyrics entered into the *Archives* are subject to the same moderation processes as the bands are – and in part due to no other single source being able to provide lyrics for as many songs on the list as the *Archives* does: a cursory search of other websites dedicated to song lyrics revealed that while some lyrics not found on the *Archives* were available on other sites, no other website seemed to boast data as comprehensive as the *Archives*, especially in the case of lesser-known bands. The lyrics were copied from The Metal Archives' album pages directly into a separate tab on the song list spreadsheet where they could be viewed and compared in a visually clear environment. Laying out the lyrics line-by-line in a sheet form also allowed each line of text to be analyzed independently in the later stages of the study.

This final stage of data selection involved an additional round of eliminations due to a number of songs on the list not having lyrics available in the Metal Archives or the lyrics not having to do with Metal music or culture – in these cases, the song in question was taken off the list and the next one was checked for eligibility. The most common reason for excluding songs from the final dataset was the unavailability of lyrics in the Metal Archive: some of the bands in the database are too obscure to have the information available, or simply have not made their song lyrics available either online or printed in album liner notes. Some songs that did have the lyrics posted on the website faced issues with their eligibility for the study: a number of songs with "Metal" in the title did not discuss Metal music but instead dealt with fantastical narratives. Other songs did deal with Metal music, but from a perspective that made them unfit for my study – for example, the lyrics in American band Messiah's song *Heavenly Metal* reference Metal music, but from the viewpoint of a Christian Metal band, meaning that the focus was not actually

in Metal but the Christian faith (for further discussion, see Jousmäki, 2015). Lastly, several songs by bands performing in non-native English featured lyrics so unintelligible that they could not be included in the data due to the subject matter not becoming clear even after repeated close readings.

In addition to the more straightforward eliminations, the more complex issue of parody songs also needed to be considered at this phase of preparing the materials for the study. In his criteria for defining genres, Swales (1990) notes that making a genre's purposes its principal defining criterion helps in separating earnest genre events from parody: even when a communicative event intended as a parody would be formally indistinguishable from the genre it imitates, the two are possible to differentiate if the purposes driving them can be identified (pp.47–49). While parody songs often exhibit similar thematic elements and linguistic features to "real" Metal songs about Metal, their purpose is not to instill a specifically Metal identity and engender a sense of community in their audience but to ridicule the songs that do this earnestly. In studying song lyrics, this distinction can be difficult to make due to the limited amount of material available for analysis in any given song, especially when the lyrical texts are examined out of context without considering their delivery, the music around them, or the performer's image overall. The materials used in this study corroborate this fact, as some of the songs in the dataset seem to verge on parody but cannot be confirmed to be such based on the lyrics alone. A few songs by bands that were known to me to be parody acts or that had names that clearly humorously played on the names of well-known Metal band were disqualified in the elimination stage, however, while other songs were accepted into the study despite featuring lyrics that were nonsensical or exaggerated, as their communicative aims could not be reliably identified as parodying the genre. The lyrics of these outlier songs closely follow the features and conventions found in the other songs in the dataset, meaning that they do not negatively affect the representativeness of the dataset as a whole.

Together, the final list of fifty randomly chosen songs that comprise the dataset – found in its entirety in Appendix 1 – amounts to a total of roughly 7,000 words. The songs vary in length from 56 to 216 words, averaging at 136 words, and from 15 to 48 unique (not repeated) lines of text. The number of songs was not set to 50 from the outset of the study – this number was arbitrarily chosen as the starting point for the data collection and could have been augmented later if the amount of data would have proven insufficient or too large for the scope of the study, and the complete song list found in the Metal Archives was kept available, should the need arise to find more data at a later stage in the study. After having compiled the data, however, it was accepted that the fifty songs would provide a suitable amount of data for the study.

The songs in the dataset originate from three different decades: the earliest songs were originally released in 1991 and the newest one is from 2018. It bears mentioning here that the 1980s, a seminal era for the formation of the Metal genre as it is today and widely regarded as the golden age for Metal music, are not represented in the data at all. In reality, this seemingly glaring snag in the dataset is an acute representation of the *Archives'* data as a whole and can be explained by a number of factors: the number of Metal bands in the world has grown exponentially in the last thirty years thanks to the growing availability of both music and instruments globally, and the ease of distributing music on the internet, which has greatly aided the discoverability of smaller bands compared to the time before the internet. It is also likely that as the Encyclopaedia Metallum has grown in prominence within the Metal community, many young bands today submit themselves to be featured on the website, which adds to the number of bands in the database even further. Therefore, as the dataset does not consider the bands' importance to the scene or influence on later artists, the later decades with a higher number of bands are naturally more prominently represented in it.

The absence of the 1970s, on the other hand, is not as surprising as that of the following decade, as at that time both the lyrical conventions in Metal music and the subculture itself were still being established, meaning that the MSaM genre was likely not fully formed yet and that any songs lyrically celebrating the genre at this time likely would have conformed to the "original" version of the MSaM in which the music was still largely referred to as rock and roll – as attested to by Straw (1984) and Weinstein (1991) – and as such would not have appeared in the search in the Metal Archives. The chronological division of the dataset's songs is visualized in Table 1.

Table 1: Number of songs by decade.

Decade	**Number of songs**
2010s	23
2000s	21
1990s	6

It should be noted that while the release years of the songs themselves are listed here, the bands performing them may have been active for a long time before releasing the songs that found their way in the dataset for this study (several of the dataset's bands were formed in the 1980s), and the songs themselves may have been written earlier than the year they were released on a full-length album. Such concerns are not within the scope of this study, however, and they do not affect the overall trend shown

in the data: that the popularity of the MSaM genre seems to be on an upward trajectory starting from the 1990s all the way to present day.

The songs in the dataset originate from all over the world – six continents are represented in the countries of origin for the bands behind them. Table 2 illuminates the diffusion of the songs in the dataset by continent.

Table 2: Number of songs by area of origin.

Continent	**Number of songs/bands**
Europe	35
North America	6
Latin America	5
Asia	2
Australia	1
Africa	1

It is notable that the vast majority of the bands are European or North American, with German bands holding the most positions on the list with eight songs (with the addition of one by a Dutch-German band), with the U.S. coming second with a representation of five songs. The rest of the songs were divided more equally, with Sweden, Spain and Italy each having three songs on the list while no other country was represented by more than two songs.

The geographical origins of the bands in the data largely reflects the traditional view of Metal as the music of white Euro-Americans while at the same time displaying signs of a growing global Metal community, characterized by Kahn-Harris (2007) as "a complex process of multidirectional global flows within the scene" (p.97). The underrepresentation of the areas that are more recent additions to the global Metal community can be partly explained by the criteria of this study: only including English-language songs in the study resulted in the exclusion of many MSaM originating from the expanding cultural sphere of Metal – this was apparent in the data selection stage wherein several songs by South American and Eastern European bands performing in Spanish or in other non-English European languages were excluded. It must be conceded that the exclusive focus on English-language lyrics unfortunately somewhat dampens my arguments for a transnational and globally inclusive Metal community by leaving out the expanding sphere of Metal. This is, however, a necessary evil as in a paper of this scope (and in one specializing in English linguistics) I am only able to focus on one language, and the language that offers the most representative results is naturally the lingua franca of the genre.

Musically, the dataset is heavily focused on three subgenres of Metal, mostly featuring Heavy Metal, Power Metal, and Thrash/Speed Metal. The subgenres featured in the data are detailed in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Number of songs by subgenre.

Metal subgenre	**Number of songs**
Heavy Metal	19
Thrash, Speed Metal, Thrash-adjacent	15
Power Metal, Heavy/Power Metal	12
Black Metal, Death Metal	4

As noted in the Introduction, the genre tag Heavy Metal refers here to bands performing Metal in a style inspired by the bands from the 1970s and 1980s and not to the entirety of the Metal genre as the term once did. In addition to the 19 "pure" Heavy Metal songs, four are by bands described in the Encyclopaedia Metallum as playing Heavy/Power Metal, in which case the songs can be thought to belong to either genre; however, for the sake of clarity, these songs are grouped with Power Metal in Table 3. The same logic applies to one song listed as Black/Death Metal, included in the lowest row of the table. Finally, while Thrash and Speed Metal are technically individual genres, they share so many features with one another that the terms are often used interchangeably, and the two are conflated here for clarity. The Thrash-adjacent songs referenced in Table 3 namely belong to the genres of Blackthrash and Death-Thrash – hybrid genres combining musical elements, primarily the speed and heaviness, from Thrash Metal with the overall soundscapes and lyrical themes of Black or Death Metal. The complexity of the genre tags speaks as much to the difficulty of ascribing singular definitions to music as it does to the evolved expert terminology adopted by the Metal community to describe and classify the music it has come together to appreciate. Notably, some of the major Metal subgenres are not represented in the dataset at all – among the most notable absences are Doom Metal, Progressive Metal, and other subgenres that lyrically focus on other issues than the Dionysian celebration of Metal.

All in all, it seems safe to say that the dataset is representative of the MSaM genre as a whole. Based on the statistics extracted from the dataset, Metal Songs about Metal can be generally said to exist within the musical genres of Heavy Metal, Thrash Metal and Power Metal, the latter of which is explicitly mentioned as having a tradition of self-celebration in Kahn-Harris (2007, p.122). They are typically written and performed by European bands and seem to be growing in popularity, with the 2010s being the decade with the most MSaMs released to date.

No notable ethical issues were found with using this data. The authors of the lyrics have chosen to publish their works for public consumption, thus exposing them to scrutiny and analysis by their audience, including critical analyses such as my study. While song lyrics are the intellectual property of the artists and their publishing companies, the use of copyrighted material is generally allowed for "educational/teaching purposes" in most legislations. More specifically, the use of lyrics of copyrighted songs in academic studies such as mine falls under the "educational purposes" clause of Fair Use in U.S. copyright law (U.S. Copyright Office, 2020), and is listed as one of the exceptions in the European Union's equivalent legislation (European Commission, 2020). Sourcing the data from the Encyclopaedia Metallum likewise poses no issues as the website has not outlined terms of use for their data, which enables one to assume that its contents can be freely used. The database consists of user-created data that the site would not want to claim ownership over to avoid legal issues, which implies that the information is free to use. Finally, it should be noted that the Encyclopaedia Metallum was created to serve as an archive of Metal bands for the utility of the Metal community, meaning that using it as a resource in a study about Metal music could be seen as bringing the purpose of the database's existence to fulfillment.

3.2. Methods

My study consists of two primary parts that are reflected in my research questions: whether Metal Songs about Metal constitute a working genre of discourse, and what the methods of building and conveying a Metal identity to the listener in the songs are. My analysis and the methods of conducting it reflect the binary nature of the research questions. The initial part of the analysis that compares Swales's (1990) definition of a genre to my own and previous scholars' findings on MSaMs, acts as a basis and justification for the second, more elaborate part where a discourse analytical approach is applied to the data to answer the latter two research questions.

The first part of the analysis will employ a *top-down* qualitative methodology where Swales's definition of a discourse genre is divided into five specific criteria that were alluded to in Section 2.2.2. The five criteria for a valid genre are then discussed one by one, each of them examined against either my findings on typical features of MSaMs, arising from a detailed inspection of the song lyrics comprising the dataset, the descriptions on Metal culture and the Metal community in the works of earlier scholars, or both. Supporting evidence to this part of the analysis will be provided by previous scholars' accounts on the lyrical themes in Metal that can be equated to what I call MSaMs here. Earlier academic descriptions of

Metal lyrics, although general, will help distinguish the elements relegated to MSaMs as an independent category of lyrics within the wider spectrum of Metal lyrics overall.

After establishing a working definition of MSaM as a discourse genre, the study will turn to research questions 2 and 3. To answer these questions, close readings of the lyrics in the dataset will be carried out to find what kind of Metal identity is construed in them and how it is conveyed onto the listener by linguistic tools. The methodology in this second part of the study is largely built around the core element of openness in van Dijk's CDA framework: in my analysis of the MSaMs making up my dataset, I have adopted an eclectic methodology combining different theories to locate features of ideology and stance in them. The analysis utilizes a qualitative *top-down* close reading method where each line of each song is individually and exhaustively examined to find specific linguistic features of the building and transmittal of identities. These features have been chosen from the various theories and methodologies found in the study's background literature. After each song has been subjected to the close-reading analysis, further quantitative observations and inferences can be made about the findings, which will enrich the results. This combination of methodologies ultimately makes this paper a mixed-methods study.

The principal theories informing the methodology of this part of my study are those of van Dijk (1995) and Hongladarom (2002) as well as select authors in Englebretson (2007). Van Dijk and Hongladarom's studies act as models for my own analyses of *us*-versus-*them* juxtapositions as tools for Othering and transmitting ideologies in the data. In my analysis of stancetaking in the dataset's songs, on the other hand, the primary influences are Johnstone's ideas on epistemic stancetaking, Scheibman's analysis of generalizations as stance moves, and Du Bois's triangular conceptualization of the actors and moves in a stance act, all found in Englebretson (ibid.). Informed by these works and further influenced by the various methods found in the study's other background literature, the close reading of the material will focus on identifying the roles of the actors in the songs, specifically speakers, addressees and Others, ingroup-outgroup positioning, stancetaking, and underlying ideologies. Ultimately, my analysis should provide a credible account of Metal Songs about Metal as a distinct discourse genre utilized by the global Metal community, and of the linguistic elements used in them to fulfill their Swalesian rationale of building Metal identities and instilling them in their listeners. The next section will discuss the results of this analysis.

4. Analysis

This section is divided into two parts. The first part of Section 4 validates MSaMs as a discourse genre by fitting features of them, based on the findings by previous researchers and myself, into Swales's working definition for a genre. The second, more analytical part of the section examines the linguistic elements of the MSaM genre by detailing the analysis conducted on the dataset using the methodological framework explored in the previous section.

4.1. Metal Songs about Metal as a Discourse Genre

The purpose of this subsection is to lay the groundwork for the later linguistic analysis by making the claim that MSaMs function as a legitimate discourse genre. Swales's (1990) definition for a discourse genre (p.58), explained in Section 2.2.2., can be distilled into five criteria a group of texts needs to fulfill in order to be considered a valid genre of discourse. These criteria, formulated into a list from Swales's definition for the purposes of this study, are the following:

1. They are communicative events
2. They share a set of communicative purposes
3. They have a shared rationale that defines the genre's constraints on content, positioning and form
4. Exemplars of the genre vary in their prototypicality
5. The discourse community that "owns" the genre uses specialized nomenclature for it, which can be further examined for insights into the community

My argument is that by demonstrably fulfilling all of the criteria listed above, Metal Songs about Metal constitute a discourse genre.

The first criterion is a central one as the communicative function of genres forms the basis for Swales's model (p.45). MSaMs, as most lyrical texts, are a form of communication – in its most direct form, this communication occurs between the performer and their audience, but the performer may also inhabit the role of another person for narrative purposes or address a third party through the lyrics. As is shown in Section 4.2.1., the performer is typically the speaker in the songs, and the songs most commonly address the listener directly or a third-party Other, in which case a stance alignment is built between the speaker and the listener by portraying and addressing the Other in a way the listener can subscribe to (for details, see Sections 2.3. and 4.2.4.). The communicative features of MSaMs can be argued to be more prominent than those of other Metal songs, in fact, as the purpose MSaMs is to impart an identity onto the listener instead of telling a story or evoking a distinct atmosphere, such as is the case with many other song types

in Metal music, most of which would belong to the Chaotic side of the thematic categorization in Weinstein (1991, pp.38–43).

The most important of the criteria set by Swales is the second one calling for a set of communicative purposes shared by the genre's exemplars. It is worthy of note that a genre's aims may vary greatly and even conflict one another depending on the context (Swales, 1990, p.47). The main hypothesis of this study proposes that the primary communicative purpose of Metal Songs about Metal is the conveyance of a Metal identity to the listener. The communicative purposes of genres, according to Swales, are "recognized – at some level of consciousness – by the established members of the parent discourse community" (p.52), meaning that junior members might not yet understand what their community's genres are used for but senior members will have this knowledge, consciously or otherwise. A direct parallel to the Metal community from this observation would be that the musicians, being the community's expert members, would be the most adept at using their community's genres of choice – this holds true at least in the case of the community's communicative genres that are based on music, MSaMs included. The competence of Metal bands in employing the Metal community's genres is not directly referenced in the songs comprising this study's dataset; in general, the matter does not need to be stated since the songs themselves should confirm the ability of their writers to impart identities if and when they achieve their communicative aims. Some bands do, however, hint at their own expertise by positioning themselves as senior or leading members of the community and by acting as its gatekeepers:

(1) There's a church one of a kind / Enter and free your mind (Emerald Sun, *Metal Dome*, 2015)[7]

(2) So come on over join us and be the banging kind / Metal is forever, metal hearts and metal minds (Goddess of Desire, *Majesty of Metal*, 2005)

Example (1) portrays the concert hall as an equivalent to a church, which places the band as the elders of the Metal "religion". In Example (2), the song's speaker entices the listener to join and become a *headbanger* (an epithet for a Metal fan), implying that the performer has the power to allow newcomers into the community. In both songs the listener is invited to join the community through a direct address

[7] The lyric texts used as examples in this section have been rewritten from their varied original spelling forms to correspond to the formatting of the paper for legibility and consistency. The original spellings did not contribute to the messages conveyed in the lyrics and could at times even distract from them. The references after each example list the name of the band or performing artist first, then the name of the song in italics, and lastly the year of release for the album the song appears on.

and imperative word forms, both of which are common tropes of MSaMs explored in more detail in the next section.

The third criterion relates to the rationale of the genre and the rationale's impact on the genre's conventions. If one of the main purposes of Metal Songs about Metal is to instill a Metal identity in the listener, then their rationale would involve portraying the community or culture in a positive light while inviting and enticing the listener to join in order to facilitate the transference of the identity as efficiently as possible. This rationale would then manifest in the songs in the utilization of appropriate linguistic and rhetorical tools to realize it. It comes as no surprise, then, that identity-reinforcing linguistic elements such as positive self-representation and inclusive addresses to the listener are found throughout the dataset. In fact, most of the dataset's songs prominently feature these two elements in various forms.

(3) There is the sound within us all / Inside our hearts, inside our souls / It gives us power, it makes us strong (Wicked Side, *Heavy Metal*, 2014)

(4) We are unique, one of a kind / Hammering our heads in the air / Stronger than steel, hotter than fire / Metal heart's desire! (Cryonic Temple, *Heavy Metal Never Dies*, 2002)

Examples (3) and (4) each feature both inclusion and positive self-representation: they utilize the first-person plural grammatical person, or the inclusive *we*, to involve the listener when describing the values, activities and positive qualities of the Metal community. This finding is in line with the theories on underlying ideologies by van Dijk (1995), who proposes that the most common strategy for any ideology being realized linguistically is positive self-representation supported by negative Other-representation, the former of which (3) and (4) are examples. The various linguistic methods used in MSaMs to build and convey a Metal identity are detailed in Section 4.2..

The fourth of Swales's genre-defining criteria necessitates that the instances of a genre share properties with one another, but also leaves room for variation as no genre can realistically retain complete similarity across all its exemplars. As discussed in Section 2.2.2., not all of the songs in my dataset are required to have the exact same communicative purposes to be able to be counted as belonging to the same genre. In a similar vein, the fourth criterion allows for some variation in the form and properties of the songs in my dataset. Therefore, while the dataset is mostly consistent in form, some deviation in the content of some songs is acceptable: for example, on the surface level, the pure Black Metal songs of the dataset that focus on projecting an "evil" image through violent and Satanic imagery may not seem to

have much in common with the pure Power Metal songs with more uplifting and empowering messages. However, the gap between the two subgenres is populated with the other variants of Metal music represented in the data, all of which share some elements with one another, creating a singular continuum of Metal subgenres featuring MSaMs that, despite their differences, are all clearly bound together by the linguistic tools they use as well as a general thematic of discussing Metal on some level. The prototype approach, then, allows for some fluidity in the range of linguistic elements that appear throughout the songs while also demanding that there be a certain perceptible shared quality that allows one to point out that despite their possible differences, all members of this category are still decidedly Metal Songs about Metal.

The fifth and final criterion for a valid discourse genre is the requirement for specialized genre nomenclature and its implications in the activities of the discourse community. Synthesizing the concepts of seniority and community-specific lexis in his definition of discourse communities, Swales (1990) acknowledges the insights these naming conventions can give for the genre analyst, but also warns against the dangers of trusting them blindly (pp.54–55). The idea of specialized and dynamic terminology, as it relates to the Metal community, was explored in Section 2.2.1. in which it was found that the bulk of the community's specialized language arises from the naming conventions of Metal subgenres and concepts related to differentiating them. As Swales proposes, this nomenclature does offer insights into the lineages of the subgenres as well as the community itself, as is recognized in the analysis of the Extreme Metal scene's subcultural capital by Kahn-Harris (2007, pp.121–139). Swales (1990) also makes note of the resilience of genre terminology, even in the face of change in their meanings (p.56) – the term "Heavy Metal", for example, originally referred to the entire spectrum of musical subgenres, called merely "Metal" in this study, but has since changed to signify a more specific subset of bands and songs within the broader Metal genre (Weinstein, 1991, p.8; 2011, p.244). In summary, the terminology used of a genre lives and changes synchronically with the community utilizing it, and thus provides useful information on the community. Were it to become a commonly accepted genre of communication and song category within the Metal community, the *Metal Song about Metal* would be a new addition to the community's specialized genre terminology.

The discovery that all five of Swales's genre-defining criteria are acceptably fulfilled by the Metal community and the MSaM category of songs legitimizes my proposition that Metal Songs about Metal

constitute a genre of discourse, at least in the Swalesian definition of the concept, and allows me to move on to the second part of the analysis.

4.2. Identity-building in Metal Songs about Metal

Since the main communicative purpose and rationale of MSaMs seem to involve conveying a specific identity onto the listener through linguistic means, the next agenda of this study is to find out what the identity construed in the songs is like and how the listener is persuaded to embrace the identity. To pursue this subject, a list of five questions were synthesized from the previous literature on identities, ideologies and song lyrics displayed in Section 2:

1. Who is the speaker in the lyrics, who is addressed, and who is portrayed as the "Other"?
2. How is the ingroup of *us* positioned an outgroup of *them*, and who is involved in each group?
3. Which stance tools are used to project attitudes towards the in- and outgroups, and what are these attitudes like?
4. What other underlying attitudes and ideologies can be found embedded in the texts, and what do they tell us about the identities built in the lyrics?
5. How do the elements above come together to construct a distinctively Metal identity, and how do they convey that identity to the listener as an active participant in the Metal community?

This section is divided into further subsections that correspond to the five questions guiding the analysis. An important detail to note before the identity-building elements are explored further is that each of the five categories of elements based on the above questions were featured to an extent in all of the songs in the dataset – a few songs did not feature a clear addressee or Other, and some did not express stance in a way my method was equipped to demarcate. Cases such as these were, however, a small enough portion of the dataset that they did not affect the analysis process.

4.2.1. Speakers, Addressees and Others

The first question of the analysis on the roles taken and represented in the song lyrics is mainly based on the actors in Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle and the relationship between the representations of the self and the Other in van Dijk (1995). In the stance triangle model (see Figure 1 in Section 2.3., p.18), the song's speaker always corresponds to Subject 1 while the Other can take the place of either the Object or Subject 2 depending on who the song addresses. The assignment of the roles was also influenced by the concept of participants in song lyrics outlined by Machin (2010, pp.79–82), though the study's scope did not permit an analysis of the linguistic representations of the participants as elaborate as his. Finally,

while the terminology used of the roles or actors here borrows from speech act theory in the case the *speakers* and *addressees* (also used by Helmbrecht, 2002), my analysis does not consider speech acts as lyrics are prepared texts that rarely even try to simulate natural spoken language.

It should be noted that in some Metal songs, especially those that fall under Weinstein's (1991) Chaotic thematic category (pp.38–43), it is common for the singer to embody the role of a character to play out a narrative in the song. Conversely, MSaMs as a subgroup of Metal songs, are more grounded in reality in comparison (although not necessarily realistic by any means), dealing with the joys and struggles of the Metal lifestyle. Thus, the speaker in most of them is the singer, usually as themselves or as a representative of the whole band and the values it presents:

(5) Once we go on / And start to play a song / We all know where we belong / […] / We enter the stage / Like a dog in a cage / Waiting to be released (Gaia Epicus, *Heavy Metal Heart*, 2003)

(6) We'll turn up the heat / With an overdose of thrashing speed! (Gae Bolga, *Violent MetalStorm*, 2011)

In Examples (5) and (6), the singer refers to a *we* that is portrayed engaging in activities that clearly signal that the entity in question is the band, such as in (5) that plainly discusses the act of going up on a stage to perform music to an audience and the emotions connected to the experience. In Example (6), the reference to playing music is a more metaphorical one but still clearly discernible as such: the speaker vows to *turn up the heat*, implying both a physical and spiritual intensification of the experience for the crowd, while the music itself is depicted as being overwhelmingly fast and powerful – *an overdose of thrashing speed*. The instances where the speaker uses *we* to refer to the band is a rare case where an exclusive use of the pronoun is addressed to the listener (see Section 2.3.).

The fist-person plural pronoun does not always refer to the band performing the song, however, as in several songs the speaker in the lyrics is talking on behalf of the Metal community in general:

(7) We stand all together united and proud / Wherever is metal we shall be there loud (Thunderstorm, *Heavy Metal Spirit*, 2001)

(8) We will conquer you all / […] / We will break through the wall. (Messenger, *Metal Day*, 2006)

In Example (7), the speaker is referring to the community through the use of the *inclusive we*, the use of which is fairly common (the effects of the inclusive *we* on the identity transference in MSaMs is further

explored in Section 4.2.5.): the phrase *all together* reveals that the speaker is discussing the community as a whole. Both examples additionally invoke common values of the Metal community such as unity, pride, and perseverance. The passage in Example (8), on the other hand, is addressed to the outgroup with the address to *you all*, and the positioning of *we* and *you* places the groups in opposition to one another. The speaker in (8) is expressing a common sentiment in MSaMs: that the Metal community has lived in persecution and is about to revolt against its oppressors. The imagery of escaping from captivity to conquer the outside world, then, implies that the *we* used to connect the sentiment to the ingroup specifically refers to the Metal community.

Although less common, the first-person singular pronoun *I* is also used in some cases to signify that the speaker of the song is the singer talking for themselves or about their own experiences:

(9) I searched for metal maniacs / A brotherhood for me (Wizard, *We Won't Die for Metal*, 2013)

(10) When they said to turn it down, I said "no way" / 'Cause I can't stop lovin' it, baby (Steel Shock, *All Hail to Metal*, 2017)

(11) I ride amongst my brothers, rampage through your town (Usurper, *Metal Lust*, 2003)

Examples (9) and (10) are personal accounts marked by the use of the first-person singular. The first-person viewpoint does not always carry through the entire song: (9) is an excerpt from a quasi-biographical song in which the speaker recounts his journey of finding Metal music and joining the community, while (10) is from a song that mostly displays some of the history and values of Metal through general third-person narration, with occasional forays into a more personal reporting. The lines in both examples are notably in the past tense, which enhances the narrative feel, but in the case of (10) the song later shifts into the present tense as the lyrics turn to directly addressing the listener in the refrain. In (11) the singer is essentially referring to the Metal community as despite the singular pronoun the reference to *I … amongst my brothers* results in the same effect as the use of *we*.

The addressees in MSaMs are typically either the listener of the song or the Other represented in the lyrics. The listener is typically treated as a surrogate for the Metal community as a whole and may be addressed and referenced in plural, in which case the speaker is usually directly calling out to the entire community. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish whether the *you* in a song addresses a singular or plural entity, but this usually does not affect the song's message.

(12) Nothing's gonna stop you is that clear / All you have to conquer is your fear / You're the metal knights

(13) Here it is / That heavy metal shit you've been craving (Baltimor, *Heavy Metal Shit*, 2017)

Example (12) addresses the listener with a positive message and by directly naming the ingroup *the metal knights*, while (13) refers to a *craving* for Metal, a characteristic that only applies to the ingroup as opposed to being a more general statement. Addresses to the community are also sometimes marked by the use of the imperative mood as the song's speaker issues commands or appeals to the listener. This typically occurs in instances where the addresses are directed to an imagined audience in an emulated concert situation. Appeals to the listener to *raise [their] fists and scream* (Cryonic Temple, *Heavy Metal Never Dies*, 2002) might not seem to make much sense when heard on a recording, but they portray a setting that should be familiar and relatable to most listeners while recognizing the importance of concerts to the Metal community (see Section 2.2.1.). The ambiguity of addressing a *you* works to the songs' advantage: it serves a double function by also applying to "real" audience interactions when the songs are performed in actual concerts.

In a less common case, the listener is portrayed as a potential convert to the Metal community who is addressed by persuading them to join the cause of Metal with direct invitations, also in the imperative mood:

(14) Follow us, our metal path is right / Stand with us, to one shall we kneel / We are the ones, our victory is real (Battlerage, *Raw Metal*, 2011)

(15) So come on over join us and be the banging kind / Metal is forever, metal hearts and metal minds (Goddess of Desire, *Majesty of Metal*, 2005)

Overall, the addressee can generally be distinguished by the tone of the address: ingroup addressees are often approached with inclusive and positive statements, while when the addressee in the song is the Other, they are typically approached with defiance or explicit aggression. In these cases, the listener is assumed to be on the side of the speaker, joining them in berating the Other, which indirectly fosters unity between the speaker and the listener.

The Others portrayed in the dataset's songs are the "enemies" of Metal, almost always people or groups outside the Metal community. The Others can be roughly divided into three groups: wimps and posers, preachers and teachers, and mainstream society. The categorization of Others is illustrated in Table 4 in

which the examples are manifestations of the Other types, compiled from features of the Others represented in the data. The names of the first two categories are made up of terms used for Others in various songs in the dataset.

Table 4: The categories of Others in MSaMs.

Category of Others	**Examples**
Wimps & Posers	Fans of other music genres Trend-followers Inauthentic people People who only pretend to like Metal (“posers”) Bands and artists playing “wrong” kinds of Metal Community members who take Metal too seriously
Preachers & Teachers	Authorities (the government, police, etc.) Religions and people belonging in them People trying to stop or suppress Metal People who do not understand Metal or think it is harmful (“stiffs”)
Mainstream Society	“Everyone but us”; the non-Metal society at large Conformists and those who want to make the Metal community conform to society’s rules People who laugh at or doubt Metal Commercial radio and mainstream media

The Other is not explicitly named in all of the songs in the dataset. However, these songs almost always indirectly hint at an entity the ingroup feels hostile towards as well through imagery depicting a struggle, even if the enemy is not always named.

(16) It can't be fought or beaten down / The undefeated metal sound […] We'll never stop, we'll never change / We're gonna play it till the end (Wicked Side, *Heavy Metal*, 2014)

In the song of Example (16), for instance, no Other is directly mentioned anywhere in the lyrics. However, the excerpted lines allude to an entity that seeks or has sought to defeat, stop or change Metal: there would be no need to emphasize the invincibility and longevity of Metal if it was not somehow under threat.

4.2.2. Ingroups, Outgroups and Inter-Group Relations

The positioning of the ingroup against the outgroup relates to both van Dijk’s (1995) idea of position and relation descriptions (pp.148–149) and the larger concept of stance positioning (Englebretson, 2007). In

order to wholly understand the relations between the groups, it is also vital to investigate who or what is placed in each group in the songs. As was found in the previous subsection, the speaker of the songs typically represents the whole Metal community, making the community the ingroup in most of the songs. The Other, conversely, is usually a personification of the song's outgroup. The outgroup represents an opposing force to the Metal community: an authority figure with hostile intentions or an entity in a position of power over the Metal community, for example. Even the whole surrounding "mainstream" society can be considered the outgroup in some songs, as can be seen in the third category in Table 4. The common theme seems to be that no matter who is or makes up the outgroup, there is usually a sense of rivalry or animosity between the groups. Moreover, while the outgroup is typically pictured as the original perpetrator behind the antagonism, in the actual action portrayed in the songs it is the ingroup who is more active:

(17) Like whirlwinds we destroy / All that's in our way. / People who never cared / What we had to say. (Gae Bolga, *Violent MetalStorm*, 2011)

The outgroup portrayed in (17) consists of people who have brushed Metal off and kept it in obscurity. Because of this show of disrespect, the outgroup is directly attacked both in the song's narrative and rhetorically: the actions taking place in the song depict the enemy being completely *destroyed*. The events occurring in Example (17) are a metaphor for the Metal community's overwhelming strength in comparison to the outgroup and give the ingroup agency by placing it at the active participant in the action. Most songs in the dataset mirror this sentiment of direct hostility towards the outgroup.

A flicker of peace is offered in some songs, however, such as in (18) where a disapproving parent is invited to join the concert their daughter has gone to against his wishes:

(18) We've got your daughter, lambs to the slaughter / Tonight she won't be coming home. / Get to the hall, there's magic in us all / See the fists up in the air. (Shadowlord, *Heavy-Metal Madman*, 2004)

Another such peace offering comes in the song *Your Metal Way* by the band Thrashgression (2014), in which the Other, after being called out for preferring music characterized as *other fucking shit*, inferior music instead of Metal, is encouraged to write music themselves to *find the thrash metal way*. This song is unique in the dataset in the complete change in tone between its crass and bitter verses, and the

inclusive, even hopeful refrains. *Your Metal Way* proves that MSaMs are able to portray more than a single position between the in- and outgroups.

The ingroup in MSaMs has thus far been found to be the Metal community – but it is also in the interests of the study to find out who exactly do the songs portray as belonging in the community, and, by extension, who is seen as worthy of the Metal identity. While the ingroup's values, activities and spiritual characteristics are described in detail, the community is not specified much in terms of its national, socio-economic or cultural composition. This could be seen as a tool for inclusion, as using empty signifiers such as *us* and *them* with no further description allows the listener to fill the blanks with their own experiences and views. However, the community seems to be mostly seen as consisting primarily of men: it is often described by masculine terms such as *brothers*, *sons* or *brotherhood*. Women, on the other hand, are rarely mentioned, and when they are, they are portrayed as objects or in an overtly sexualized manner:

(19) Whips and chains and leather excite her much / I want to feel her kinky touch / She wants it rough perverted and weird / She makes me afraid while I drink my beer (LIV, *Black Metal Slut*, 2017)

(20) When you've got the time to go / Come to see our metal-show. / With girls and skulls and hellish fire / Hail! We're Goddess of Desire. (Goddess of Desire, *Glory in Metal*, 1996)

(21) See the violence, the pit before my eyes. / Bang your head, the chicks like your sweat. (Gae Bolga, *Violent MetalStorm*, 2011)

In Example (19), the woman portrayed in the song is described only by her sexual qualities and positioned as an object of desire, while in (20) women are reduced to stage props in the band's concerts, and placed as an incentive for the (presumably male) listener to join the activity depicted in the song in (21). The masculine worldview of the songs reflects the composition of the bands – none the dataset's songs are sung by women, for example, which hints at the situation in the community in general. The topic of gender and its representation in Metal, however, is a topic too complex for this study to go into any deeper.[8]

Another element of gatekeeping and policing of community membership is found in two songs in the dataset. The songs *Thrash Metal* by Alkoholizer (2009) and *Professors of Metal* by Traktor (2013)

[8] Issues of gender in Metal are discussed in much of the literature in Metal studies, starting with both Weinstein (1991) and Walser (1993).

exhibit a clear disdain for what they perceive to be the "wrong" kinds of Metal community members. The former condemns bands playing *trash metal* – music that is described as unacceptably commercial, modern or far removed from the core sounds traditionally associated with Metal. The latter, in turn, attacks people who take Metal too seriously and subsequently ruin the music for everyone else by arguing about the minutiae of obscure bands or *analyze music with a scientific approach* on online message boards. At first glance, these attitudes might seem at odds with the inclusive values proposed elsewhere in this paper to be inherent in Metal and MSaMs, but on closer inspection one can see that the songs do represent values shared by many other songs the genre: *Thrash Metal* speaks for the core value of authenticity in passing judgement on forms of Metal the speaker represents as too fashion-forward or manufactured to be acceptable contributions to the genre, and *Professors of Metal* exemplifies the concept of *transgressive subcultural capital*, identified by Kahn-Harris (2007) as a value system wherein status is accrued through "radical individualism, […] uniqueness and a lack of attachment to the scene" (pp.127–129, emphasis mine), meaning that the song expresses a secondary Metal value through its criticism of other members' commitment to the community. *Thrash Metal* and *Professors of Metal* are notably both Thrash songs, which suggests that the exclusivity portrayed in them might be a trait of Thrash Metal in particular – indeed, Thrash and Speed Metal are recognized as possessing "fundamentalist" tendencies by Weinstein (1991, p.52). While she mainly refers to the exclusive focus on the musical elements at the very core of Metal in these genres, the songs shown here and the unforgiving attitudes towards the outgroups found in other Thrash songs do exemplify a similar ethos reflected in the identity inherent in the subgenre.

Despite the overall masculine perspective and elements of arbitrary gatekeeping apparent in a few songs, there are several songs featuring messages of inclusivity across gender, race and nationality:

(22) Burn through the night, wolves are a pack / Forgotten sons and daughters alike (Painmuseum, *American Metalhead*, 2004)

(23) Welcome my friends into the pit / Raise your fists and scream / Men and women, black or white / Together we will rock (Cryonic Temple, *Heavy Metal Never Dies*, 2002)

(24) A common bound - no segregation / One sound - one united nation (Emerald Sun, *Metal Dome*, 2015)

These songs reflect an ideal and a sentiment reflected in much of the discourse within the Metal community today – the community is international and constantly diversifying, and Examples (22) through (24) seem to advocate the idea that the Metal identity can be adopted by anyone with a love for the music, no matter who they are or where they are from.

4.2.3. Attitudes, positions and stancetaking tools

The previous subsection explored the overarching trends in the composition and positioning of the in- and outgroups. The following inquiries into stance will illuminate the linguistic tools, or stance moves, used to construct these relations. The most prominent elements of stancetaking found in the data are the generalization of the positive qualities of the ingroup and the negative features of the outgroup, the evaluation and the subsequent positioning of Others, and epistemic stancetaking.

Overall, song lyrics feature a great deal of generalization as the short format of a song necessitates brevity in the expression of ideas. Despite its frequency, generalization can be a powerful tool for the realization of stance positions in interpersonal relationships: according to Scheibman (2007), generalizations can be used to link the speaker's personal attitudes to those of a larger group, the Metal community in this case, and to articulate the group's cultural beliefs and shared values of (p.134). Most importantly, generalizations are able to give evaluative or opinionated assertions the appearance of statements of facts and can thus be used to legitimize the ingroup and de-legitimize the outgroup (pp.115–118).

Common generalizations found in the data include the matter-of-fact statements of the ingroup's strength and power, and the outgroup's negative qualities, especially *their* weakness contrasted against *our* fortitude, are portrayed as commonly accepted realities. Apt examples of such representations are found in songs where the outgroup is pictured as powerless against the Metal community's might in a metaphorical battle. The following examples crystallize this notion in the span of four lines each:

(25) I feel the glory on the field / Prepare to bang your head, no turning back / We're proud and strong, we'll never kneel / Nobody will survive / No one survives when we attack (Battlerage, *Raw Metal*, 2011)

(26) All of those who tried to make us stop / They must all be made of clay / Tried so many times with no result / Yet we get stronger every day (Unleashed, *Death Metal Victory*, 1997)

In Example (25), generalization is used in as a form of hyperbole used to accentuate the ingroup's positive qualities and to make the opposition look weak. This position becomes apparent in the noble ideas such

as glory, pride and strength evoked in conjunction with the ingroup, and in the absolute negatives when describing the resolve of the ingroup and the results of the "battle" for the outgroup: *no turning back* and *never kneel* for the ingroup, and *nobody* and *no one* for the outgroup. In (26), on the other hand, generalizations are used to stress scope and gravity of the speaker's stance: *all* of the enemies of Metal *must* be weak, having tried to stop it *so many times* with no result. Both applications are common in the songs of the dataset.

Another commonly used generalization move found in the data involves references to the song's Other or outgroup as an unspecified *they* who are typically portrayed as having perpetrated crimes against *us* (see Section 4.2.1. for examples of unspecified Others). Utilizing generalization in references to Others effectively distinguishes them from *us* while allowing the listener to substitute the third-person plural pronoun with whatever person or group they might have similar feelings towards, making it easier for them to adopt the ideology presented in the song. The same logic applies to the use of *we*, in which case the listener can apply the song's message to any identity group they feel the strongest connection to.

Evaluative stancetaking is mostly achieved through the use of emotive language to convey judgments, assessments and attitudes (Englebretson, 2007, p.17). Analyzing evaluation as a stancetaking tool reveals some of the values and attitudes the speakers of the songs direct towards the outgroups. Equally important to these discoveries are the implications of evaluative moves on the *positioning* of the outgroups. As Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle model suggests, positioning represents the effect of the stancetaker's evaluative moves: an object of evaluation is always positioned in relation to the evaluator. In the dataset, the evaluator in each song is the speaker whose attitudes and positions to their stance objects can be seen as representing those of the entire Metal community. The majority of evaluative stances taken to Others seem to position the ingroup as superior to the outgroup following the patterns of Examples (25) and (26). Articulating the same notions of the positions between the groups is a powerful identity-building tool because Othering outsiders fosters ingroup solidarity (Scheibman, 2007, p.133).

Not all of the dataset's songs evaluate the Others, however; while the main stance object of most songs is indeed the Other, some songs purely focus on Metal itself, the community around it, or the ideal Metal lifestyle, appropriately displaying the expected positive stances towards them:

(27) Hot lava is around us / The fucking <u>hell and sodomy</u> / All your <u>desires will come true</u> / Here starts the <u>true black rock'n'roll</u> (Oldblood, *Possessed by Metal from Hell*, 2010)

(28) Now I have no problems / Now I have no fear / I like heavy metal sound (Vhäldemar, *Metal & Roll*, 2013)

Example (27) begins with a description of a hellish scenery to indicate the abolishment of Christian values and social moral codes in favor of earthly pleasures and carnal joys – this is followed with a promise of the fulfillment of all of the listener's wishes as well as a statement that this way of life embodies the true spirit of rock and roll. In (28), adopting the spirit of Heavy Metal in one's life is depicted as leading to one's problems disappearing. A Metal lifestyle is, then, highly evaluated in both examples and thus positioned as desirable. The positive evaluation of Metal mostly functions to position Metal as freeing and its accompanying lifestyle as something to strive for in life, encouraging the listener to partake in the identity themselves.

Epistemic stancetaking, referring to implications made of the knowledgeability or the lack thereof of the in- and outgroups, does not appear as frequently in the data as the previously mentioned features do but is prominent enough to warrant a mention here. In the data, epistemic stances are taken to indicate that the speaker knows what they are talking about or doing, while the Other or the outgroup does not.

(29) If you think / That rock'n'roll is dying / Don't be fool and pay attention / Rock is endless and deathless life (Shock, *Heavy Metal (We Salute You)*, 1991)

(30) Metal lives forever / Cause it's the will of people / There is no uncertainty / Metal is immortality (Riotor, *Metal Oath*, 2010)

(31) Some people laughing at us and even might ignore us, / But at the end they´ll see: / Their trends they´re living are a fuckin' lie. (Majesty, *Heavy Metal*, 2002)

A straightforward instance of epistemic stancetaking is offered in Example (29) in which the addressed Other is warned against foolishly believing that rock and roll music is going out of style – to the speaker it is clear that rock will live forever and whoever thinks otherwise is simply not paying attention and is in the dark as a consequence. In (30) the permanence of Metal is painted as a commonly agreed-upon fact (also an instance of generalization) of which there can be no uncertainty, and whoever disagrees is plainly wrong. Example (31), finally, mirrors one of the dataset's overarching themes, describing the Others as foolish and unfoundedly overconfident in ridiculing Metal – their illusion of superiority will break when they see that they have believed in false trends instead of Metal that is seen as incorruptible.

4.2.4. Underlying Ideologies and Their Linguistic Realization

The most obvious features of ideologies realized in the lyrics are the use of contrasted personal and possessive pronouns *we–you, us–them,* and *ours–yours* to position the actors, and self-glorification and Other-derogation used to create distance between the actors, achieved through various linguistic and lexical means.

The ideologies of the Metal community are largely expressed through metaphors. I have dubbed the most prominent of these metaphors "The Fight for Metal"; The Fight is an allegory to the Metal community's frustrations and animosities towards the various outgroups and its feelings of being subjugated or overlooked by mainstream society. These notions are usually dressed in the guise of medieval-themed warfare and battle imagery as a callback to the swords-and-sorcery roots of Metal lyricism and complimented by other similar conceptualizations such as the equally frequent "Escaping from Captivity" motif. The Fight metaphor is typically accompanied by references to *steel*, standing for both the blades of weapons and the toughness of the community's resolve, and likening the Metal community to an army with depictions of appropriate activities. The "Escape" motif is marked by allusions to the *breaking of chains* and *rising up* after a long period of forced silence. Through this metaphor the battles depicted in the lyrics and the violent acts described being done to the outgroup are justified by making the outgroup seem like the one at fault.

The third major metaphor found in the data is that of "The Sound", a distillation of the positive notions attached to the sounds of Metal music and its perceived power into an almost personified entity. The Sound is often pictured as having *destructive* capabilities and is often connected to the forces of nature: the sound of *thunder* is the most common link to the sound of Metal, but it is also portrayed as being able to summon *earthquakes* and *melt faces* off unworthy listeners. The analysis also revealed several recurring themes in the lyrics, each a metaphor epitomizing a different aspect of Metal culture or its values. Two additional themes are also found in several songs, albeit not as frequently as the aforementioned ones: "The Look", descriptions of the denim-and-leather Metal uniform as the ideal choice of attire for a Metal fan, and "The Concert" that emphasizes the importance of the live show as a kind of sacrament for the community and relays this value through activity-description of the sights and sounds familiar to the concert-going listener.

Another frequent element of ideological language-use are identity descriptions, the analysis of which effectively reveals some of the core features of the ideologies and identities at play in any text through a

process of categorical identification of features. As categorized by van Dijk (1995, pp.147–149), these include descriptions of self-identity, activity, resources, goals, norms and values, and positions and relations, all of which will be individually examined below.

Self-identity descriptors are elements that indicate how the ideological group sees itself in terms of who does and does not belong to it. It especially applies to groups with threatened, insecure or marginalized identities, or those whose dominance is under threat (p.147). The Metal community is, or at least sees itself as, a marginalized group: this becomes apparent in the nearly omnipresent references to the longevity and endurance of Metal (expressed through generalization) and the recurring theme of The Fight for Metal. These aspects suggest that the community at least feels threatened; placing heavy emphasis on one's own immortality usually suggests that there is reason to argue the contrary.

(32) There is the sound within us all, / Inside our hearts, inside our souls; / It gives us power, it makes us strong. (Wicked Side, *Heavy Metal*, 2014)

(33) As brothers come and losers go / The Metal-cult remains (Desaster, *Metalized Blood*, 1998)

(34) We are standing in front of you like other people / But there is more / The power of metal is in our hearts (Beyond Eternity, *The Power of Metal*, 2008)

The self-descriptions found in the dataset vary from celebrating The Sound as in Example (32) to praising the perseverance of the Metal community and the sense of brotherhood in it in (33), to describing the ideal characteristics of the members of the community as in Example (34). In general, the love for Metal music is shown as being a quality that is ingrained in the spirits of its fans. The songs also place a surprising amount of gravity on defining the "The Look" of the community:

(35) Dressed in black studs and leather / Not in shorts or colored sweaters (Goddess of Desire, *Glory in Metal*, 1996)

(36) We wore black leather jackets / With patches all around / We love the style of living – bang to the sound (Wizard, *We Won't Die for Metal*, 2013)

Examples (35) and (36) exemplify the significant uniformity in the descriptions of the ideal Metal outfit. The Metal community seems to be strict about its acceptable dress code, although because the dress is already a codified norm in the community, the portrayals of leather-wearing Metal fans also increase the relatability of the songs for those who already dress according to the Metal Look.

The other side of self-identity description is Other-description: some groups see themselves, at least partly, through who they oppose or do *not* identify with. In the MSaMs analyzed in my study, the range of Other-descriptions was as varied as that of self-descriptions, implying that the Metal community has a detailed and complex idea of who or what its opposers are:

(37) Coward / What is that shit you're blasting / Metal / You can't play without passion (Iron Angel, *Ministry of Metal*, 2018)

(38) Lie to media behind our backs / Any game you like to play / Any challenge you have, we accept / Death metal is here to stay (Unleashed, *Death Metal Victory*, 1997)

(39) Don't bother explaining they won't understand / You just have to feel it right from the start / Don't try to talk them into your style / It's strange for them, ‘cause you are wild (Black Sun, *Metally Ill*, 2011)

The Others in Example (37) are all those who enjoy music that the speaker finds unacceptable, implying a sense of genre loyalty and standards for acceptable music in the Metal community. Example (38) somewhat paranoidly asserts that the Others, the enemies of Metal, are liars who like to play games and pit mass media against Metal, while (39) expresses the notion that the outside society can and will not understand Metal, which is why it is a fruitless endeavor to try to reason with it. All of these portrayals of the Others are articulated in several songs in the dataset.

Activity description fosters a group’s identity through describing its typical activities, roles and expectations. This can be especially effective for groups that are primarily defined by what they do, such as professional or activist communities (van Dijk, 1995, p.148). While the Metal community is purely neither a professional or a hobbyist group, it has a specific set of activities it engages in and builds its worldview on. These activities are often expressed through the metaphor of The Concert.

(40) Heads are banging, drums are slamming / Power fills the hall (Shadowlord, *Heavy-Metal Madman*, 2004)

(41) We don't care about another way of living / For we know that our is the best / Moshing, banging, boozing and fucking / Until it will bring us to an early grave (Depredation, *Metal Maniax*, 2005)

In the case of the Metal community, typical activities include playing music and attending concerts in which the audience bangs their heads while the band plays, their combined energy filling up the concert

hall (40), and indulging in hedonistic pleasures without worrying for the future (41). The activities carrying the most importance to the Metal community, of course, are those based around music as the subculture is primarily formed around people with similar tastes in music.

Resource description ties into the Metal identity in that it is used to indicate the physical and immaterial possessions the community either has and wants to protect or lacks and wishes to seize, with the latter being the more relevant application of the feature in this context. The resources the Metal community principally portrays itself as lacking are not physical but have more to do with Metal's place in society. This want for resources typically concerns issues such as recognition and agency from the society around the community. This is the main argument in many of the MSaMs in the dataset, indicating that one of the key structures making up the Metal identity is the lack of – and desire for – social capital, be it in the form of mainstream acceptance of Metal music or the freedom for the community to do as it pleases without intervention from society. In the song lyrics, the issue is typically presented as a craving for freedom and an antagonism towards the outgroups who keep Metal down. Resource description usually manifests in the lyrics through Other-description (see above) and the "Escape" metaphor, and are reflected in the description of the group's goals.

Goal-description portrays what the community wants or strives to achieve. These goals do not have to stem from the group's resources, but it is natural for this to happen for a group that positions itself as lacking resources. Indeed, a clear link was found between the instances of resource-description and goal-description in the dataset, where the lack of the resources of freedom and social agency is remedied through activities aiming at the community's goals:

(42) We're living <u>in the underground</u> / You'll never break <u>our spirit</u> / We are <u>legion</u> (Witch Cross, *Metal Nation (Raise Your Hands)*, 2013)

(43) We're <u>busting out</u>, there's no doubt / We're <u>jumping over this wall</u>. (Shadowlord, *Heavy-Metal Madman*, 2004)

(44) <u>In the end</u> you shall see / We will <u>fight to be free</u> (Thunderstorm, *Heavy Metal Spirit*, 2001)

The examples above illustrate how resource description logically leads into goal-description: the community, forced to live in obscurity without the resource of mainstream recognition in (42), is shown breaking free from the chains of oppression and social restrictions in (43), thus fulfilling the goals of

gaining freedom expressed in (44). As seen in the examples, the Escaping from Captivity metaphor is strongly present in the goal-description of MSaMs as well.

Norm and value description has a seminal role in conveying the core ideals of a community in texts. It addresses issues at the heart of the group's identity: what is and is not appreciated and respected, and what is found good or bad, right or wrong. The Sound metaphor acts as a crystallization of the most valued qualities of Metal music, but it is also used as a vessel to exemplify the values of the Metal community:

(45) Distortion's the power that's pumping your heart / At thundering speeds that could tore [sic] you apart / Believing forever the sound will prevail / Untarnished the lighting that flows through your veins (Black Sun, *Metally Ill*, 2011)

(46) No preacher, no teacher, all we'll have is fun / The amplifiers explode / But we can't turn it down / No limit! Never end it, breaking all the rules / We'll rock louder with more power / This is metal mad! (Loudness, *Metal Mad*, 2008)

Examples (45) and (46) feature The Sound acting as a conduit for some of the core values of the community: unlimited power and speed, a disregard for authorities, and a belief in the purity and prevalence of Metal. The sound itself is also a value of sorts, being pictured as an essential characteristic of a true Metal fan: the music itself runs in the veins of the community.

Beside a reverence for Metal music and The Sound, at the core of the community's values are freedom, loyalty, individuality, authenticity, and refusal to conform to society's rules or expectations.

(47) Never do what they say / Walk against the wind / Always proud of what you do / Never need to lie (Cryonic Temple, *Heavy Metal Never Dies*, 2002)

(48) Hard and heavy, loud and proud / Our legions rule and never fall / United by Metal forever / That's burnin' in us all (Desaster, *Metalized Blood,* 1998)

Example (47) distills several Metal values into one passage, urging the listener to choose their own path and to stay true to themselves despite society's prompts to do the contrary. Excerpt (48) generally repeats similar ideas with slight differences in its presentation, notably featuring the phrases *hard and heavy* and *loud and proud* that also appear in other songs in the data. What is notable is the uniform use of superlative and absolute adjectives and adverbs in all of the excerpts (emphasized) that emphasizes the

permanence of the values presented in them and expresses the expectation for the listener to hold on to these values.

Another prominent value in MSaMs, closely related to self-identity description, is the appreciation of the community in its various forms. The most common lyrical manifestation relating to this value is displaying reverence to the history of the Metal genre, especially to the influential bands of Metal's formative years in the 1970s and 80s.

(49) Judas Priest, The Maiden band / Brought us to the promised land / Led Balloon, the Sabbath boys / Cranked it up with metal toys (Seven Witches, *Metal Asylum*, 2004)

(50) Down came the Priest and his name was Judas / The masses said it's evil but they couldn't fool us (Steel Shock, *All Hail to Metal*, 2017)

The examples above directly reference the bands Judas Priest, Iron Maiden, Led Zeppelin and Black Sabbath, all of which are considered to have played vital roles in the development of Metal music into what it is known as today. References to the previous bands and classic songs of the scene are so established, in fact, that they have spawned an entire song archetype in which the majority of the lyrics consist of tributes to renowned bands, songs and albums, of which the songs in (49) and (50) are examples. The praises of the Metal scene are not limited to the legends of the community: some songs in the dataset feature displays of respect for the grassroots level and modern players of the scene.

(51) Honour the past, legends never fade away / Support the present, metal bands of today (Crimson Midwinter, *Metalglory!*, 1998)

(52) All the clubs of Metal, brothers in the battle / Fighting loud and proud. / All the fanzine writers are Heavy Metal fighters. / We salute the underground! (Majesty, *Heavy Metal*, 2002)

Example (51) speaks more generally about showing respect and support for the scene, placing modern bands on par with the *legends* of the scene. Example (52), on the other hand, makes notably specific references to Metal fan clubs and fanzines, displaying a deeper familiarity with the grassroots activities of the Metal community. Here, also, *the underground* is not shown only as a symbol for Metal's subjugation but as a metaphor for a portion of the community working for the benefit of the scene in obscurity who are applauded for their efforts.

While most of Metal community's values are conveyed through positive representations, there are also issues the community values negatively in addition to the Others. A monotonous working life, for example, is treated with contempt in the dataset. In the past, Metal has been portrayed in mainstream music press and even the early works in Metal studies as an outlet of escapism for an audience of male blue-collar workers. While this view has been disputed by the scholars in Metal studies (e.g. Jousmäki, 2015, pp.35–36), some songs do signal values of wanting to break away from one's dull day-to-day life:

(53) Can you see your boring future / Can you see your bound future / Why do you have to walk on / Only one rail way / Break the chains, break the cage (Metalucifer, *Heavy Metal Revolution*, 2001)

Example (53) warns the listener against settling for a predetermined life, likened to traveling down *only one rail way* (sic), and encouraging them to break from the shackles of mundanity. While the demographic composition of the Metal community is more varied than the sources portraying it as purely working-class suggest, there seems to be some truth to Weinstein's (1991) assessment of Metal as "steeped in the blue-collar ethos" (p.115) after all. An "Escape" metaphor is again apparent, though it does not refer to breaking free from society's binds on a community-wide scale in this case.

A somewhat surprising stance on religion was found prevalent in the dataset: while Metal has been considered to be devilish music by its critics since its inception (Weinstein, 1991, pp.258–263), not many of the songs in the dataset purport to be in the service of Satan. Several songs refer to hellish powers and unspecified *evils* as the speaker's motivator, but these seem like aesthetic choices and metaphors to an anti-Christian sentiment more than declarations of a Satanic faith. References to the community as a *cult*, in turn, serve more as emphasis on the unity within the community than a belief in otherworldly powers.

(54) Why should religion be above the sound? / Let´s burn those people to the ground / Metal is simple, why do you complicate? / Turn it up and just appreciate (Axecuter, *No God, No Devil (Worship Metal!)*, 2013)

(55) No god believe / Our fate / Is sheer hate (Necrofrost, *Ugly Misanthropic Metal*, 2008)

The prevailing view on religion in MSaMs seems to be, then, that the community should focus on simpler issues instead of complicating matters with questions of faith. Most of the dataset's songs seem to share the opinion presented in Example (54) about Metal being the only thing the community needs to believe in, while the songs with more asinine positions to their outgroups might agree with the worldview colored by *sheer hate* in (55).

The Metal community's values are more elaborate than one might expect, going far beyond praise of the music itself. To summarize the findings on the issue detailed above, Table 5 lists the major issues that MSaMs make value judgments on according to the dataset.

Table 5: Norms and values represented in MSaMs.

Valued	**Devalued**
Pride and perseverance in the face of oppression	Following trends
Freedom, independence	Dishonesty and pretense
Speed, power and volume in music	Unworthy (non-Metal) music
Authenticity	Religion
Individuality	Blue-collar work
Loyalty to the community	
Disregard for authorities	

The lists in each column in Table 5 are roughly arranged in a descending order of frequency. Exact numbers of the occurrences of each value were not counted as their expressions are at times vague, and several values can be found merged together in some cases. Nevertheless, the order represents a reasonably accurate approximation of their frequencies to act as an illustration of the findings. While no song features all of the values listed above, at least one value or devaluation move could be found in each of the fifty songs comprising the dataset, and most songs either articulate several values or provide multiple proclamations of the same value. Finally, some songs focus more on presenting their values in a positive light, while others view their norms through the forces that are seen to oppose Metal's values – this is generally dictated by the song's addressee: Other-addressees are devalued while listener-addressees are approached through positive value signaling.

Finally, *position and relation description* essentially comprises the same phenomena as stance positioning, albeit from a wider ideological standpoint than the attitudinal one studied in stance analysis. In essence this category of identity descriptors is interested in the "friends and enemies" of the ingroup. The most salient feature of position and relation description is how the Metal community positions itself in a society where they are a minority surrounded by an outgroup of non-Metal people.

(56) Hair is <u>too long</u> and the volume's <u>too loud</u> / You <u>don't give a shit</u> what the fuss is about / Most <u>people ignore you</u> and listen to crap / Yet <u>you'll never stop</u> with your metal attack (Black Sun, *Metally Ill*, 2011)

Example (56) shows the positioning of the Metal community within society as it perceived by many of the writers in the dataset. The excerpted passage builds a polarizing juxtaposition between the Metal community and society while staying true to the community's values of standing proudly against the tide: Metal is always either too much for the outgroup to handle or it gets ignored completely, but despite the lack of acceptance by Others, Metal fans are shown to hold their ground. The song articulates the idea that Metal is and will *never* be accepted by the general population, enhancing the feeling of the ingroup not belonging to society while bolstering the internal bonds within the community and inviting in other people with similar feelings of disenfranchisement.

The Metal community's self-distancing from society is taken further in the commonly used references to the ingroup as *lunatics*, *maniacs*, *crazy*, *insane,* and so on. These terms are not used as derogatory terms but positive descriptions that imply a liberation of sorts from the stiff demeanor of the Others (thus also articulating the value of freedom): *going insane* in a concert means surrendering to the music and living life to the fullest without worrying what others think. The allusions to insanity also position the community as being at odds with the norms and values of mainstream society. This trend, along with Metal's longstanding fascination with mental health is recognized by McKinnon et al. (2011, p.ix) who note that insanity is what often marks outsiders' views of the Metal community – leaning into this idea in the lyrical representations of the ingroup, then, gives MSaMs a chance to claim ownership of the community's alleged madness and use it as a tool for building the Metal identity as being separate from the rest of society and standing on its own.

4.2.5. The Metal Identity Constructed and Transmitted Through Language

The final phase in the analysis aims to put together the findings from all of the previous sections and draw conclusions from them to gain a holistic view on the identity constructed and conveyed in the songs of the dataset. Taking into account all of the features and elements analyzed in MSaMs thus far, then, the Metal identity can be summarized into the following statements:

1. The Metal community is primarily defined by its pride and strength in the face of (perceived) oppression and dismissal.
2. A tight-knit brotherhood can be found within the community, with absolute loyalty to the community and the cause of defending Metal expected of members.
3. The community looks up to the legendary Metal bands and artists of past years while supporting the current scene, the concert is a quasi-religious event, and the sound of Metal is the most powerful force known to the community's members.

4. In addition to fast, loud and powerful music, the community also appreciates fast and loud vehicles and indulging in hedonistic pleasures including sex and alcohol.
5. Authenticity is a core value, and trend-followers and "posers" are the ultimate bane of the "true" metalhead.

Giving an all-encompassing definition of the Metal identity is a difficult task as identities vary by person and by context, and as has been noted in the earlier sections, the community itself is manifold and expanding. My description above could be seen a prototype of sorts; indeed, applying the logic of the prototype model Swales (1990) proposes for determining genre membership (pp.50–52) would work in this case. While individuals may possess different properties of the prototype, it is only through human perception that a definitive statement of membership in the category can be given. With this characterization of the Metal identity found satisfactory, the only thing yet to be discovered is how the identity is transmitted to the listener in Metal Songs about Metal.

The most typical features of identity transmission utilize the same linguistic tools used in signaling the roles and addressing the listeners of the songs as explained in Section 4.2.1.. Two common features already alluded to in previous sections are the inclusive *we* (see Examples (7) and (8)), and direct addresses to the listener using the personal pronoun *you*:

(57) We will stick together, even through a WW III / Music's what we need, the music sets us free. (Goddess of Desire, *Majesty of Metal*, 2005)

(58) The metal sound keeps you alive / Now this music is the meaning of your life (Beyond Eternity, *The Power of Metal*, 2008)

Both pronouns can evoke inclusion: in the examples above, the inclusive *we* in (57) and the direct address to the listener by the use of *you* in (58) are supported by references to the community's shared values to indicate unity between the speaker and the listener. Direct addresses can also combine the pronominal references to the song's participants to build friendly rapport between the artist and their audience:

(59) You're not a crowd you're our friends / For you as maniacs we play! / Your voices rule this night again (Strikelight, *Heavy Metal Strike*, 2011)

The speaker in (59) is referring to a concert setting in the excerpted passage, but in addition to the activity-describing function of the lines, the lyrics position the *you* on an equal level to the *us*, the band in this case, which subverts the usual hierarchy of the community where the bands are among the highest-

ranking members. The third line additionally functions as an affirmation of the previous position, expressing that it is in fact the listener or audience who rules the scene.

Other commonly encountered tools of identity transmission include *calls to action* that appeal to the audience to act for the Metal cause, and *relatable and personal accounts* of the Metal community's experiences from which the listeners can find connections to their own lives. Calls to action are marked by the imperative mood similarly to the invitations described in Section 4.2.1., often commanding the community to rise up against the Others, or inviting the listener to join the Metal cause. Whereas the invitations are directed at addressees who do not already fully belong to the Metal community, most calls to action are addressed to devote community members specifically.

(60) Metal brothers raise your hands / Together we are strong / Spread the Metal through the World / We will carry on (Cryonic Temple, *Heavy Metal Never Dies*, 2002)

(61) Come with us, leave your problems behind (Strikelight, *Heavy Metal Strike*, 2011)

These addresses function as words of encouragement and empowerment, but they also position the song's speaker, usually the singer or the band, as a leading member of the community with power over the listeners. This dynamic follows the structure I propose for the Metal discourse community in Section 2: the performers are the highest-ranking members of the community above even the most seasoned fans.

Relatable accounts are often tied to activity description as the simplest way to depict ideas or events familiar to the Metal community is to portray their typical activities such as concerts. They are similar in form to direct addresses to the listener – both speak to a *you* – but instead of speaking directly to the community as a whole, relatable accounts depict situations on the level of an individual:

(62) Turning on / The radio or tv / You'll see a fool guy singing MPB [música popular brasileira] (Shock, *Heavy Metal (We Salute You)*, 1991)

(63) Felt stabbed at your back, when you're wearing black / You never meant no one any harm (Black Sun, *Metally Ill*, 2011)

Although a personal pronoun is used in Examples (62) and (63), both describe events and situations on a more general level albeit from different perspectives: Example (62) articulates a distaste for popular music played in mainstream media, and (63) expresses a sentiment of feeling rejected by society merely on the basis of being a Metal fan. These are notions widely shared within the community but addressing

them directly to the listener promotes the relatability of the statements for the listener. Personal accounts serve a similar purpose to relatable accounts but are told by the speakers of the songs. The listener, assumedly a member of the Metal community themselves, is again able to latch on to the personal admissions of the song's speaker, often personified in the singer performing the song.

(64) Churches? Wanna flee / Satan? Not for me / Religion? Set me free / Metal? That´s what I need (Axecuter, *No God, No Devil (Worship Metal!)*, 2013)

Example (64) effectively declares a Metal value, an aversion to religion, but makes it more relatable by expressing it through the voice of the speaker.

The final category of identity transmission found in the data is *stance subject alignment*: some songs invite the listener to partake in their ideology in a joint stancetaking act toward the main topic of the song – usually Metal itself or an Other. In general, favorable stances taken towards Metal music or the Metal community by portraying them in a positive light foster alignments with listeners who are likely members of the community themselves. Another way to fortify the alignment bond between the speaker and the listener is to antagonistically address the Other. In these cases, the speakers appeal to the listener's experiences and negative feelings towards the outgroup that may have been accrued by belonging in a marginalized subculture. In both cases, the songs' speakers form stance alignments with the listeners by invoking shared feelings and attitudes, effectively involving them in the song's ideological message and thus imparting the Metal identity onto them.

There is no singular method or set of methods used in all MSaMs to convey the Metal identity, but the tools demonstrated here should provide a sufficiently comprehensive analysis of the issue. Moreover, the findings presented in this section offer a rich vertical slice of the identity-building taking place in MSaMs.

5. Discussion

The first research question on if, and more importantly, *how* Metal Songs about Metal can be defined as a genre of discourse was approached through the application of Swales's (1990) models for defining discourse communities and discourse genres. To successfully define the group of MSaMs as a discourse genre, one has to not only consider the functions and features of the group of texts in relation to other similar groups, but also define a discourse community that uses said texts in their communication. The analysis revealed that the Metal community does indeed fit the description of a discourse community, and that MSaMs fulfill Swales's requirements for discourse genres – to my knowledge, this is the first time the Metal community has been defined as a discourse community and a subset of Metal songs, MSaMs in this case, as a genre of discourse.

The other research questions assessed the linguistic elements MSaMs utilize to represent the Metal genre and culture, and how they draw the listener in through their lyrics. In my initial hypothesis on the matter, arising from the MSaM genre's rationale, I suggested that the principal messages communicated through MSaMs would logically aim at positively portraying the community and issuing invitations to the listener. The analysis of the data found that these sentiments could indeed be identified as the motivations behind the majority of the features of identity-building in the songs. The top-down analysis examining the positioning of the actors in the songs as well as instances of stancetaking and underlying identities proved fruitful, as all of the linguistic elements under scrutiny were found to be both frequent and relevant to the research questions.

The main elements of constructing the Metal identity in the dataset are ones contributing to the presentation and positioning of the Metal community against its outgroup Others, and the underlying ideologies behind these positions. The actors – speakers, addressees and Others – portrayed in the songs were found to be remarkably consistent throughout the data. The ingroup's adverse position against the outgroups is typically conveyed through metaphors where Metal's fight for recognition and subsistence in society is portrayed as a battle in which the power of Metal, seen as inherent to the music and comparable to the forces of nature, wipes out all those who oppose it. The instances of underlying ideologies found in the lyric texts were grouped following van Dijk's (1995) model of identity description categories under which most of the ideas presented in the lyrics could be divided. The ideology-revealing elements outside identity descriptors mostly followed the expectations set by the background literature

by generally positioning and distancing the in- and outgroups through the use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns and biased representations.

A distinct Metal identity was found represented in the songs of the dataset and summarized in five core statements in Section 4.2.5.. To formulate this essence of the Metal identity into a single phrase, one might turn to van Dijk's (1995) concept of *axiomatic propositions*, crystallizations of an ideological community's primary values that sum up their ideals and guide their other norms and values that usually manifest as short phrases (p.139). The statements proposed in the analysis section of this study might be too complex to be considered axiomatic propositions in the way van Dijk intends them; instead, to determine these propositions for MSaMs, perhaps even of the whole Metal community, one might look to Weinstein (1991) who describes the community as "Proud Pariahs" (p.93) and proposes the phrase "Loud and proud" as the Metal motto (p.142). These adages are confirmed by my analysis as still being relevant summaries of the very core or the Metal identity today, with the former used verbatim in several songs in the dataset. Either of the phrases could be considered an axiomatic proposition for the Metal identity, which suggests that despite great steps in the evolution of the musical genre, the community's values and ideals have largely stayed the same for the past thirty years.

Stancetaking was also found to be a major contributor in the construction of the Metal identity. The analysis of stance mainly offered insights into the positioning of the actors of the songs' lyrics through evaluation, generalization and epistemic stancetaking. While these moves generally achieved the same goals as the underlying ideologies, the more unique findings arising from the analysis of stancetaking were the implications of Du Bois's (2007) stance triangle model (Figure 1) for the identity transference of MSaMs. S*tance subject alignment*, or placing the actors of the songs into the triangle as its participants (Subjects 1 and 2, and the Object), opens a new way to examine not only the relations between the actors but the way the identity represented by the song's speaker is conveyed to the listener through alignment. Speaker-listener alignment typically takes place in one of two ways: either critically evaluating the Other to align the speaker with the listener, or addressing the Other to enact a disalignment with them, which then creates a secondary alignment with the listener. The Object in MSaMs is usually Metal itself – it is positively evaluated by both the speaker and the listener while the Other as is portrayed as having a negative evaluation and position on Metal. By acting upon the premise that the listener agrees with the song's message, the lyrics are able to strengthen the bond to the listeners who already identify with Metal, and to draw in those who do not yet do so.

Based on the analysis conducted in this study, I argue that the methods utilized in most, if not all, Metal Songs about Metal to convey the Metal identity to their listeners are built around one of the two stance moves presented here. Weinstein (1991), again, provides an early crystallization of the methods of identity-transference in Metal songs in stating that "[a] host of rhetorical conventions creates a sense of 'you and me against the world' between metal's performers and fans." (p.147) Not only does the phrase *you and me against the world* summarize a central notion in the Metal identity, but it also effectively defines a typical rhetoric used to transfer the identity to the listener. It is to be noted, however, that the application of the triangle model presented above only functions on songs that state their intentions as directly as MSaMs do – song lyrics weaving more elaborate allegories on the Metal identity or recounting fictional stories for a pure entertainment purpose would not yield results as clear as my carefully selected dataset does. A dedicated study on the applicability of the stance triangle model on a range of musical genres or Metal subgenres would, however, be an intriguing continuation to my study.

Despite the overarching trends of the dataset providing mostly uniform results on the Metal identity and its transference onto the listener, not all Metal Songs about Metal are identical in their representations of the genre and community and their ideals. These differences generally follow the boundaries between the subgenres of Metal. For example, the songs in my study categorized as Heavy or Power Metal, together making up the bulk of the dataset, utilize many of the same themes, stance moves and identity descriptions and can be said to follow the typical patterns of identity-building in MSaMs most closely. Conversely, the songs placed under the Thrash, Black, and Death Metal subgenre umbrellas were found to diverge from the example set by the more prototypical subgenres, although a great deal of cohesion is retained within each subgenre: Thrash and Speed Metal songs employ many of the same thematic elements as Heavy and Power Metal, namely in the form of the Fight, Escape and Sound metaphors, but take them to another level in hyperbole and violent imagery in the realization of these metaphors. According to my dataset, the songs in the class of Thrash Metal also display a different set of values than any of the other subgenres. In addition to the elements of policing community membership detailed in Section 4.2.2., Thrash songs also feature the strongest focus on drinking and partying out of all the subgenres represented. While alcohol is mentioned in several songs in the Heavy Metal category and one Black Metal song, the Thrash songs lean into this aspect of the Metal community's characteristic activities in a more blatantly glorifying manner than any other genre. Thrash songs displaying a greater degree of reverence for Dionysian values than MSaMs in general is an intriguing finding as, according

to Weinstein (1991), before the early 1990s Thrash mainly featured Chaotic themes and negative stances on drugs and alcohol, and had “no songs in praise of the music” (p.50).

The songs representing the two subgenres on the most extreme edge of Metal music, Black and Death Metal, surprisingly offer contradicting representations of the Metal identity. The two songs categorized in the dataset as purely Black Metal are the most explicit in articulating the “evil” image of Metal, largely focusing on Satanic imagery and anti-Christian sentiments. These dark lyrical themes, or *discursive transgression* as it is defined by Kahn-Harris (2007, pp.34–43), is inherent to the more extreme forms of the music and mostly functions to accentuate the severe musical qualities of the songs. The Death Metal songs of the dataset, on the other hand, defied expectations as in their portrayal of the community and methods of identity-transference, they more closely followed the conventions of Thrash and Heavy/Power Metal rather than the subgenres, such as Black Metal, they are musically more closely related to. A possible explanation for this unexpected trait might be that Death Metal songs do not usually adopt the MSaM approach of glorifying Metal music to their lyrics, typically choosing discuss more serious or gruesome themes, meaning that in their rare forays into MSaM territory, they opt to borrow the lyrical conventions from other subgenres.

My final observation on Metal subgenres regards the generalizability of the present study’s findings to those subgenres that were not included in the analysis. As demonstrated above, not all of Metal’s myriad subgenres are represented in the data, and some of the ones with a smaller representation in the dataset exhibit signs of moving away from the prototypical elements of MSaMs, suggesting that there is a portion of Metal songs that bear no resemblance to MSaMs whatsoever. In *Doom Metal* and other subgenres derived from it, for example, the topics in the lyrics and the tones they are discussed in lean towards the grim and melancholic, the opposite to what MSaMs represent, while *Progressive Metal* bands typically focus on loftier concepts than the more grounded and straightforward themes of MSaMs. This is not to say that MSaMs do not represent values and sentiments wholly shared by the world of Metal – I hope to have shown that they do in my joint analysis of the MSaM genre and the Metal discourse community. The implication is rather that the overt celebration of the genre is not a lyrical convention in all of Metal’s permutations. The frequency of the mentions of the Metal values identified in this study in the literature on Metal, as well as the lyrics in the genre, speaks for the fact that these values do indeed run through the entire Metal community. The differences between MSaMs and other song types and lyrical

conventions in Metal are important to acknowledge as they are what ultimately make MSaMs a distinct genre within the larger framework of Metal lyrics in general.

Outside the issue of representativeness within the Metal genre, a possible concern relating to this study's premise regards the viability of studying song lyrics to begin with. Detailing the various approaches taken on the issue by academics, Jousmäki (2015) ponders the futility of such efforts, referring to earlier sceptics of lyrics analysis and recognizing that a sole focus on the textual side of music leaves out essential components of what makes the music compelling to those who identify with it (pp.22–23). Weinstein (1991) is among those doubting the semiotic power of song lyrics, asserting that they are of little importance to most Metal fans, and that the fans do not truly comprehend their meanings anyway (pp.123–126). Walser (1993), while disagreeing with Weinstein by insisting that Metal fans do understand the lyrics of the songs (p.37), argues that lyrics should be seen as secondary to the music in conveying meaning in the songs (p.57). Broadly speaking, these criticisms could be leveled at my study with reasonable cause as I do consciously ignore all musical and visual contexts the lyric texts appear in. However, as my analysis has shown, there is plenty of valuable data regarding subcultural identities to be found in lyric texts alone. As discussed above, not all types of songs, even all Metal songs, are fit for this kind of analysis, but in the case of Jousmäki's study on Christian Metal (2015) and my own analysis of MSaMs, the material is well-suited for the purpose: in both cases it is the lyrics that constitute the genres as separate entities from other types of Metal, even when the music itself might be indistinguishable from other categories, and the two genres share the primary purpose of conveying a specific ideology onto their listeners (p.23). I would additionally argue that in the case of MSaMs, specifically, it does not matter whether or not the audience is able to "adequately interpret" the lyrics as the messages conveyed and the rhetoric used in them are generally simple enough to comprehend even in the midst of a rowdy concert – in fact, shouting along to song lyrics as part of a crowd might be the most effective way to develop a communal identity.

An interesting thought experiment arises from Swales's prototype model described in Section 4.1.: in theory, there should be an essential or prototypical MSaM that shares properties with all other members of its category. As there are almost endless Metal songs in existence, the contenders for this title are far too numerous to determine within the scope of this study, perhaps of any study for that matter. From the songs in the dataset, however, Majesty's *Heavy Metal* (2002)[9] arguably stands out as exemplifying the

[9] The dataset features two songs titled *Heavy Metal*, the other being by the band Wicked Side (2014)

core tenets of MSaMs better than any other song in the set, featuring a wide range of representations of Metal activities, values and identity. Majesty's song tackles the topic from many angles, and nearly every lyrical line is loaded with identity-building meaning – virtually all other songs in the dataset share some element with the song, which makes it the closest thing to an MSaM prototype the dataset can offer. The prototype model refers, of course, only to a theoretical ideal manifestation of a genre that does not need to actually exist, but the question of a perfect exemplar of a category is something worth pondering.

My study finds that the exaltation of the Metal community in MSaMs is often done at the expense of the Others, with the Metal community's position and role in society portrayed as a struggle or revolt against the outgroup. Thematically, these conventions of linguistic positioning fall under Weinstein's (1991) Chaotic category. Interestingly, as it is indicated in Section 2.1., Weinstein places the MSaM song type into the Dionysian category of lyrical themes in Metal. While I agree that the self-celebratory nature of MSaMs makes their core premise lean towards the Dionysian, my dataset shows that at the same time there is no shortage of Chaos in the genre. The difference between Weinstein's portrayal and the realities of the dataset suggest a move in a more radical direction in the stances MSaMs take on Metal's place in society – whether this shift is a consequence of changes in Metal's social status since the early 1990s or merely an evolution of the genre is a question too complex for this paper to investigate. Additionally, in her discussion of the thematic divide in Metal lyrics, Weinstein makes an intriguing remark about a tendency of Metal songs to explicitly refer to the nighttime as a symbol for Metal's distinctive activities: indeed, there is an overarching theme of "The Night" apparent in the dataset's songs in addition to the ones discovered earlier in the present paper. The nighttime is a valuable thematic element because according to Weinstein it mediates the themes of Chaotic mayhem and Dionysian revelry, further proving that the two can coexist as they do in MSaMs overall (pp.42–43).

Metal has been referred to on several occasions in this paper as a growing, transnational community. The purpose of these references has mainly been to portray the community as an inclusive and growing cultural sphere, but the term *transnational* implies more than internationality alone. I argue that Metal is about more than religion or nationality – it offers alternative cultural identities to those who do not find a place within national, religious, class-based or other cultural "locales" (Wallach et al., 2011, p.23 cited in Jousmäki, 2015, p.36). Despite originating from white Europe, Metal today is not exclusively tied to any single country or culture and mostly exists on its own terms. This means that the Metal community is able, at least in theory, to focus on the matters that unite them despite geopolitical other cultural

differences, eschewing the dividing classifications of these traditional identities, albeit in favor of other forms of Othering. In the end, it seems that the Metal community is in many senses a community like any other with its ideal qualities and expectations for itself and its perceived enemies – it does, however, represent the larger global phenomena of identities moving away from traditional ones essentially based on where and to whom one is born, and shifting towards ones based on an individual's personal views and interests. This change into transnational, individualistic perceptions of identity seems to fit the values represented in the Metal identity very well, possibly hinting that there might be an important role to play for the Metal community and other musically centered subcultures in the future.

6. Conclusion

In this study I have determined that Metal Songs about Metal function as a distinct genre of discourse and discovered that the genre is characterized by a set of linguistic tools utilized for positive self-presentation and Other-derogation to construct an identity unique to the Metal community. This identity is conveyed to the listener by way of various methods of inclusive language and forming stance alignments between the songs' speakers and the listener. The validity of MSaMs as a discourse genre according to Swales's criteria had initially been a cause for concern as the second half of the study, containing the bulk of the linguistic analysis, depended on first confirming the genre status of MSaMs. The study would have been significantly more difficult to justify if the type of songs at the center of the study was not demonstrated to act as a coherent discourse genre, which is why it was vital for the first stage of the analysis to deliver credible results.

One of my study's possible limitations is the specificity of the data selection process. Using a keyword other than "metal" to search for the songs may have returned different results, although the uniformity of the songs in the dataset would suggest that MSaMs retain many similar qualities even across subgenre boundaries. An intriguing alternative method of finding relevant songs would have been to search for the word "metal" (or perhaps another keyword altogether) from all of the song lyrics available on the Metal Archives website – this method, while much more labor-intensive than mine, could have provided a more varied dataset than what I ultimately used. In the end, time constraints prohibited me form exploring this alternative way to collect my data. The scope and focus of the study also hindered me from using every analytical tool at my disposal: in order to keep the paper within an acceptable length, some theories and methodologies, such as Paltridge's (1995) framework for genre analysis that could have proven useful in further defining MSaMs as a discourse genre, had to be omitted – however, my own Swalesian definition of the genre already addresses some of the features in Paltridge's framework.

Had it been possible to explore all possible avenues of analyzing the data, I might have elected to study the evaluation and rhetorical devices apparent in the songs more directly. These features were partly covered by the theories regarding stance and ideologies I did use but were not discussed as standalone methods. Additionally, while I did draw influences from the earlier studies on ideologies in song lyrics for the questions guiding my analysis, they could have likely contributed more valuable viewpoints and methods of analysis on my topic of study. Potential later studies wishing to expand upon my study could adopt methodologies from these works (cited in Section 2.3.), or possibly conduct a diachronic analysis

on thematic changes in Metal lyrics over time. Finally, I was originally interested in doing a multimodal analysis of some kind; Machin (2010) provides several interesting approaches to studying popular music on various levels of the music itself as well as outside it, discussing values, participants and agency in lyrics, subcultures, and overall discourses in and about pop music. Later studies could also follow in the footsteps of Walser (1993) and adopt a musicological approach to how the Metal identity is reflected in the soundscapes of the music, or look into the visual aspects of the Metal identity from dress to album art – noted as a central element in Metal culture by since Weinstein (1991, pp.27–31) – and how these elements are used as identity-building tools in support of the musical centerpiece of the subculture. A study combining a discourse analytical approach with an ethnographical method could also be conducted to determine if and how the identity-building conducted in the song lyrics has a substantial effect on the community members adopting the identity.

Metal studies is a constantly growing field of research I am happy to have contributed to, especially as linguistic studies have thus far been lacking in the field. The field is expanding into new methodological territories, however, as new publications are constantly being released. It seems fitting that I should finish this paper in the year of Metal music's 50th anniversary. May there be another half-century in its future, preferably one marked by a still-growing academic interest in Metal studies.

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Appendix: The Songs in the Dataset

Band	Song	Album	Genre	Country	Year
Messenger	Metal Day	Under the Sign	Heavy Metal	Germany	2006
Gae Bolga	Violent MetalStorm	Violent MetalStorm	Thrash	Belgium	2011
Samael	Morbid Metal	Worship Him	Black Metal	Switzerland	1991
Wildan	Metal Fighter	Metal Fighter	Heavy Metal	Spain	2008
Usurper	Metal Lust	Twilight Dominion	Thrash	USA	2003
Shadowlord	Heavy-Metal Madman	Shadowlord	Heavy/Power	South Africa	2004
Unleashed	Death Metal Victory	Warrior	Death Metal	Sweden	1997
Wicked Side	Heavy Metal	Wicked Side	Heavy Metal	Poland	2014
Axecuter	No God, No Devil (Worship Metal!)	Metal Is Invincible	Heavy Metal	Brazil	2013
Survival	Speed Metal Torment	Rock & Roll Sacrifice	Thrash/Speed	Mexico	2014
Oldblood	Possessed by Metal from Hell	Possessed by Metal from Hell	Blackthrash	Slovakia	2010
Gaia Epicus	Heavy Metal Heart	Satrap	Power Metal	Norway	2003
Alkoholizer	Thrash Metal	Drunk or Dead...	Thrash	Italy	2009
Bitches Sin	Metalize	Uduvudu	Heavy Metal	UK	2008
Iron Angel	Ministry of Metal	Hellbound	Power Metal	Germany	2018
Painmuseum	American Metalhead	Metal for Life	Power Metal	USA	2004
Cryonic Temple	Heavy Metal Never Dies	Chapter I	Power Metal	Sweden	2002
Loudness	Metal Mad	Metal Mad	Heavy Metal	Japan	2008
LIV	Black Metal Slut	LIV	Speed Metal	Croatia	2017
Goddess of Desire	Glory in Metal	Let Us Win This War	Heavy Metal	Netherlands	1996
Emerald Sun	Metal Dome	Metal Dome	Power Metal	Greece	2015
Steel Shock	All Hail to Metal	For Metal to Battle	Heavy Metal	Netherlands/ Germany	2017
Witch Cross	Metal Nation (Raise Your Hands)	Axe to Grind	Heavy Metal	Denmark	2013
Black Sun	Metally Ill	Dance of Elders	Power Metal	Ecuador	2011
Goddess of Desire	Majesty of Metal	Awaken Pagan Gods	Heavy Metal	Netherlands	2005
Baltimor	Heavy Metal Shit	Eepos	Speed Metal	Finland	2017
Ronnie Ripper's Private War	Thrash Metal, Satanism & Alcohol	Socially Challenged	Heavy Metal	Sweden	2009
Metalucifer	Heavy Metal Revolution	Heavy Metal Chainsaw	Heavy Metal	Japan	2001
Wizard	We Won't Die for Metal	Trail of Death	Power Metal	Germany	2013

Johnny Touch	The Metal Embrace	Inner City Wolves	Heavy Metal	Australia	2014
Battlerage	Raw Metal	True Metal Victory	Heavy Metal	Chile	2011
Beyond Eternity	The Power of Metal	Greetings from the Dead World	Heavy Metal	Germany	2008
Vhäldemar	Metal & Roll	Shadows of Combat	Power Metal	Spain	2013
Desaster	Metalized Blood	Hellfire's Dominion	Blackthrash	Germany	1998
Depredation	Metal Maniax	Ruhrpottmetal	Thrash	Germany	2005
Metal Disease	Metal Show	Young Attack	Speed Metal	Ukraine	2014
Baphomet's Blood	Speed Metal Earthquake	Second Strike	Speed Metal	Italy	2008
Majesty	Heavy Metal	Sword & Sorcery	Heavy/Power	Germany	2002
Riotor	Metal Oath	Beast of Riot	Death/Thrash	Canada	2010
Seven Witches	Metal Asylum	Year of the Witch	Heavy/Power	USA	2004
Strikelight	Heavy Metal Strike	Taste My Attack	Heavy Metal	Greece	2011
Thunderstorm	Heavy Metal Spirit	Beyond the Dawn	Heavy/Power	Romania	2001
Possessor	Metal Meltdown	City Built with Skulls	Thrash	USA	2012
Traktor	Professors of Metal	Fast and Loud	Thrash	Poland	2013
Shock	Heavy Metal (We Salute You)	Heavy Metal We Salute You	Heavy Metal	Brazil	1991
Thrashgression	Your Metal Way	Endless Pollution	Thrash	Spain	2014
Blacklyst	Metal Knights	Liars, Killers, and Master Thieves	Heavy Metal	USA	2004
Bicoloured Men	Metal Man	Hybrid	Heavy Metal	Italy	2014
Necrofrost	Ugly Misanthropic Metal	Blackeon Lightharvest	Black Metal	Germany	2008
Crimson Midwinter	Metalglory!	Random Chaos	Black/Death	Finland	1998